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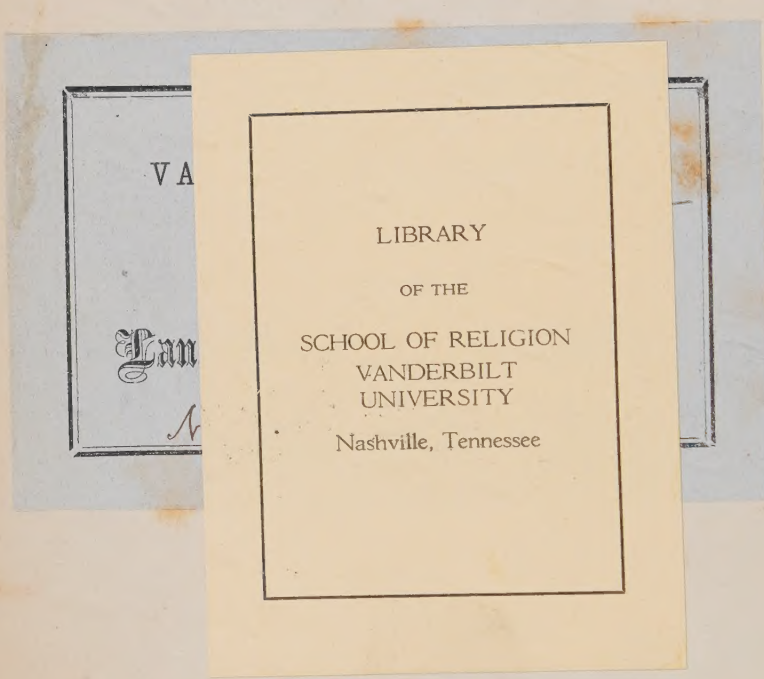

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A HISTORY

OF THE

HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

The Patriarchate of Alexandria.

BY THE

REV. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A.,

Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead.

VOLUME II.

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BOOK III.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS,

A.D. 451,

TO THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE

SARACENS,

A.D. 640.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἐξῆς οὐ πόλλῳ τούτων ἀποδέοντα οὐδενός πω καθ' εἰρμὸν τετύχηκε λόγου, ἔδοξέ μοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ δεινὸς ἐγὼ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀνελέσθαι πόνον, συγγραφήν τε ταῦτα ποιήσασθαι, εὖ μάλα πιστεύσαντι Τῷ καὶ ἁλιέας σοφίσαντι, καὶ γλῶσσαν ἄλογον ἐς ἔναρθρον εὐφωνίαν κινήσαντι.

Evagrius, H.E. i. 1.

THE

Patriarchate of Alexandria.

SECTION I.

CONSECRATION OF S. PROTERIUS, AND RISE OF MONOPHYSITISM.

Dioscorus was duly informed of his deposition on the day that it was pronounced: letters were addressed by the Council to both Emperors, and to Pulcheria, announcing the news: and to those clerks of Alexandria who happened to be at Chalcedon, enjoining them to preserve the goods of their Church, as they would do in case of a vacancy. The fallen Patriarch gave out, that notwithstanding this sentence, he should, in the course of time, be re-established in his throne: the Council, in the public edict, whereby they notified the event to the people of Constantinople and Chalcedon, asserted that the thing was impossible. Deposition of Dioscorus published.

In the fourth Session, which was held four days later, seven days having now been given instead of five for the consideration of the letter of Leo, it was again read in the presence of the magistrates. The Legates, Patriarchs, and Exarchs, expressed their acquiescence in its tenets; the Bishops of Illyria, who had demurred to some passages, informed the Council that their doubts had been satisfied by the Legates: and those of Pales- Session IV. Oct. 17.

tine did the same. The letter was then approved generally by the Council: and thus became part and parcel of Catholic teaching. As soon as this matter had been settled, a tumultuous cry arose, "Restore the Fathers to the Council! they are Catholic! long life to the Emperor! long life to the Empress!" The Fathers, whose restoration was thus petitioned for, were, of course, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the four other Bishops who had been deposed with Dioscorus in the first Session, but who had always, though yielding to temptation, retained the Catholic Faith in their hearts, and now with deep penitence acknowledged their fault. The magistrate replied that the will of the Emperor must be known, and some hours were spent in waiting for his reply. The messenger crossed and re-crossed the strait with the greatest expedition: and the answer which Marcian returned, left the Council at liberty to pursue their own course with respect to the five Bishops, only reminding them that for their treatment of those Prelates they must one day render account to GOD. Anatolius exclaimed, "Let them enter," and the voice of the Council was unanimous. As soon as they had taken their places, the usual shouts were heard, "Long life to the Emperor! to the Empress! to the Magistrates! Long continuance to the unity of the Church!"

The five Bishops absolved.

Thirteen Egyptian Bishops were then introduced, and took their places. Speaking by the mouth of Hieraces,[1] Bishop of Aphnæum, in Augustamnica Prima, they expressed their perfect adherence to the Catholic Faith, and their willingness to anathematize whoever should infringe it, whether Eutyches or any other. But, they continued, the Council of Nicæa decreed, that the whole of Egypt should follow the Archbishop of Alexandria: and that no Bishop should do anything without him. The Episcopal Legate of the Pope spoke unkindly and disparagingly, as if Bishops, grown old in their Sees, could not pronounce for themselves on the Catholic Faith; Eusebius of Dorylæum flatly denied what they said, and the whole Council pressed them to subscribe Leo's letter, on pain of excommunication. The thirteen Bishops threw themselves on the ground, and cried, "Have pity on us! have mercy on our grey hairs! if we return to our own

Dilemma of the Egyptian Bishops.

[1] Or Hierax. See Le Quien, ii. 547, 8.

country, after infringing the Canons of Nicæa, we shall assuredly be slain: Anatolius knows that we speak the truth: we do not desire to disobey the Council: for God's sake spare men whose lives are in your hands: give us our Archbishop, and prove if we will not comply: elect him at once; we will wait at Constantinople till he is appointed.[1]" The magistrates remarked, that what they said was reasonable: and they were permitted to stay quietly at Constantinople till a new Patriarch should be appointed for Alexandria: first, on the suggestion of one of the Legates, giving bail for their appearance, when required.

Neither on the fifth Session, wherein the Roman Legates so remarkably overruled the decision of the Synod, by inducing them to pronounce that Christ was not only *of*, but *in* two Natures, nor on the succeeding ten have we any occasion to dwell. It is only necessary to observe that the Second Dignity was, in the last two Sessions, confirmed to the Church of Constantinople, in spite of the opposition of the Legates: and that this Canon, as we have already had occasion to observe, was afterwards forced on Rome itself.

At the conclusion of the Council, Dioscorus[2] was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia: and four of the Bishops whom he had brought with him to Chalcedon sailed to Alexandria, with the Emperor's mandate for the election of another Patriarch. They found that the decision of the Council was received with the greatest indignation in Egypt: that the people were resolute against receiving another Patriarch during the life-time of Dioscorus; and that their own motions were watched with great dislike and suspicion.[3] At length, Proterius,[4] Arch-Priest of the Church of Alexandria, was elected to fill the vacant throne: S. Proterius, Patr. XXVI. A.D. 452. A.M. 168.

[1] This degrading scene gives some colour to the sneer of Gibbon, viii. 290, Note 42.

[2] We pass over the foolish tale related by Makrizi, and other oriental writers, that Pulcheria, enraged at the firmness of Dioscorus, gave him so violent a blow as to strike out two of his teeth, while her courtiers pulled off his beard: and that Dioscorus sent them to Alexandria as witnesses of his sufferings for the truth.

[3] Evagrius, H.E. ii. 5, who derives his information from the history of an eye-witness, the orator Priscus.

[4] He is also called Bertares, (Sollerius, p. 56*, A,) which indeed was probably his actual name, euphonized into Proterius.

the people being the more willing to receive him, as having been left by Dioscorus in charge of the Church. But many still continued to consider Dioscorus as their rightful Patriarch: a sedition arose: the heretics attacked and routed the magistrates and their troops: besieged them in what had formerly been the temple of Serapis, whither they had escaped for refuge, and burnt them alive in it. A body of soldiers, sent by Marcian to quell the tumult, who reached Alexandria in the extraordinarily short time of six days, though successful in restoring order to the city, behaved so insolently, as to alienate still more completely the minds of the inhabitants from their rightful Patriarch: and during the whole of his Episcopate, Proterius could never consider himself in safety without a guard of soldiers.

Insurrection at Alexandria.

The schism, thus begun, continues, as is well known, to the present day: the followers of Dioscorus far outnumbering the Catholics of Egypt. The former are generally known by the name of Jacobites; the latter, by that of Melchites. To enter into the origin of these appellations, and into the general history of the sect, will tend to explain the future progress of our history.

It may well be believed that Dioscorus, in his exile at Gangra, ceased not to spread his heresy by all the means in his power. But he only survived the Council two years and a few months: and we find S. Leo, in a letter bearing date December 6, 454,[1] expressing his hope that, with the death of the heresiarch, the heresy would die. Such, however, was not the case. The murderer Barsumas, who had been condemned at Chalcedon, returned into Syria, and there propagated his heresy:[2] his disciple Samuel carried it into Armenia:[3] it took deep root in

Progress of the Jacobite heresy.

[1] Auxiliante misericordiâ Dei, facilius est errantium speranda correctio, et efficacior erit prædicatio Evangelii, extincto defensore mendacii (i. 12). This proves the falsehood of the Oriental tradition that he was banished to an island in the West, and lived there seven years. Pagi, 451, lxvi. Ballerini, S. Leo, Opp. ii. 557.

[2] He died Feb. 1, 458, leaving behind him some Epistles, but no work of any length, and is commemorated in the Monophysite Calendars, as well Syrian as Egyptian, on the 3rd, the day of his burial. We find a church dedicated to him at Besciara, and other places. Asseman, Bibl. Or. ii. 9.

[3] Gregory Bar Hebræus (Asseman, Bibl. Orient. ii. 296,) endeavours to prove that Samuel departed from the tenets of his master, and fell into Phantasiasm, but there are no real grounds for believing this.

Alexandria and Ethiopia: but its greatest propagator was Jacobus Baradæus, or Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa, who flourished a century later than Dioscorus.[1] This man possessed considerable talents and unwearied energy, and from him the series of Monophysite Patriarchs of the East may be said to have had its rise. From him also the name of Jacobite was assumed: though writers of that sect affirm it to have had its origin from James, the LORD'S brother.[2]

The Melchites.

The appellation of Melchites, or followers of the King, was fixed on the Catholics as a term of reproach by their opponents: by way of implying that their reception of the Council of Chalcedon was merely in compliment to the Emperor Marcian. The term, however, was never objected to by the orthodox: and by their own writers is employed to designate the Catholics even before the time of the Fourth Œcumenical Council.[3] It caused them much trouble under the Mahommedan tyranny: the Jacobites rendered the Caliphs suspicious of the Melchites, as friendly to the Eastern Emperors: and this constant habit of dependence on Constantinople has not, it must be confessed, been without disastrous consequences to the Egyptian Catholics. Not only did it cause them voluntarily to resign their claim to be the Second Church, out of complaisance to the Emperors: but it has gradually introduced among them the rites and ceremonies of Constantinople, and destroyed all those national peculiarities, which the Jacobites retain, and with the loss of which they taunt their opponents, and stigmatize them as foreigners and intruders.

No heresy has ever been divided into more sects than the Monophysite. But two grand divisions include the whole. Pure Eutychianism was the heresy of Barsumas and of his disciple Samuel: Monophysitism, that of Dioscorus and his fol-

[1] He was Bishop of Edessa from A.D. 541 to A.D. 578. Asseman, B.O. ii. 65.

[2] Makrizi (221, seq.) gives four reasons: one of them asserts that Dioscorus, before his elevation to the Patriarchate, was named James; and that in his epistles to the Alexandrians, after his deposition, he adjured them to retain the Faith of the poor and deposed James. This is confirmed by Elmacinus (Asseman, B. O. ii. 65,) who expressly denies the truth of the derivation of Jacobite from Jacobus Baradæus.

[3] Renaudot, p. 119. Liberatus, Brev. 14.

lowers. The former asserted that the Divinity was the sole Nature in CHRIST: whence it followed that His Body was not Consubstantial to our own, but a mere phantasma; and this was the extreme tenet of the Phantasiasts. The latter hold that, as body and soul make one man, so the Divinity and Humanity make up one compound Nature in CHRIST. Egypt was always Monophysite; Armenia, always Eutychian; and the Armenian Church symbolized its heresy by forbidding the till then universal practice of mingling water with wine in the Chalice. But Syria fluctuated between the two forms of heresy; and after at first receiving that of Barsumas, was, chiefly by the efforts of Severus of Antioch, and Jacobus Baradæus himself, drawn into that of the Monophysites.[1] The Jacobites are willing to anathematize Eutyches and his adherents. The Liturgy which goes by the name of Dioscorus, expressly denies this heresy. The Priest, immediately before the consecration, is ordered to say:—"Who, when He beheld our race ruined, and spoiled by the spiritual lion, sent the Only Begotten GOD for its salvation: Who, Incarnate by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, and that by a carnal, and not phantastical nativity, became in verity the Son of Man."

Difference between Monophysitism and Eutychianism.

Of the names of the unhappy sects into which Monophysitism has subdivided itself, we shall hereafter be compelled to speak more at length. The usual names of the extreme sections were Eutychianists, from their author: Phantasiasts and Docetæ, from their attributing to CHRIST only an apparent Humanity;—those of the more moderate faction, Dioscorians; Severians, from Severus, the celebrated Patriarch of Antioch; Timotheans, from Timothy the Cat; Theodosians, from Theodosius of Alexandria.

Of Eutychians, the Julianists, who were also called Gaianites, (the first from Julian of Halicarnassus, the latter from Gaianus of Alexandria,) held that the Body of CHRIST was Incorruptible, *i. e.* not only not subject to decay, but not obnoxious to the usual wear and reparation of human frames. They called their opponents Phartolatræ and Ctistolatræ,—worshippers of the corruptible, and creature worshippers. Severus of Antioch wrote a work against them, which is extant in MS., and besides Docetæ and Phantasiasts, they were also named Aphthartodocetæ and Manichæans. They split into three sects. One held

Incorruptícolæ.

[1] Assem. B. O. ii. p. C. ii.

(by a dogma which appears unintelligible,) that the Body of CHRIST was not only Incorruptible, but from the moment of the Immaculate Conception, uncreated: the second, that it was Incorruptible, but not uncreated: the third, that it was not Incorruptible essentially, but preserved so by the indwelling virtue of the Word. We meet with a Patriarch of the Julianists as late as A.D. 798, but the dogma is now extinct, except so far as its general type is preserved among the Armenians.

The Theopaschites had their rise from Peter the Fuller, and attributed the Passion to the Divinity, as Acacius of Melitene *is said* to have done when forming one of the Commission at Chalcedon. Peter was the author of the celebrated addition to the Trisagion, *Thou That wast crucified for us*,—which, however, has been used by Catholics, and does not prove its deviser to have been involved in that peculiar error of his sect.[1] Theopaschites.

The Severians interpreted the works of that Bishop differently as to some doctrinal points, from the rest of the Monophysites. They were divided into nine sects, of which none attained much notoriety except the Agnoites. These were so named from their distinguishing tenet, that, while the WORD was Omniscient, the Human soul hypostatically united to Him was ignorant of much. Of other sects we shall have occasion to speak incidentally. Severians.

The Jacobite heresy, taken in its largest sense, comprises three Patriarchates: those of Alexandria, the East or Antioch, and Armenia. But the latter is not in Communion with the other two: though at various times a reconciliation has taken place. Under the Patriarch of Alexandria is the Metran of Abyssinia: under him of Antioch, the Maphrian, or Primate of the East. But we have already had occasion to dwell on this subject in our Introduction, to which, therefore, we refer the reader.

As a ready acquaintance with the principal sects of the Jacobites is requisite to a clear understanding of Alexandrian History, the following table may be found useful. It is impossible to observe any very strict accuracy in such a scheme, from the perpetual variation of names:—*Severians*, for example, sometimes signifying the professedly stricter followers of Severus,

[1] Assem. B. O. I. 518. ii. p. d.

sometimes the whole body of Syrian Jacobites: *Acephali*, in like manner, properly meaning those who rejected the Henoticon of Zeno, but being also applied to Monophysites in general.

- Eutyches.
  - Eutychianists = Armenians.
  - Phantasiasts.
  - Docetæ.
  - Julianists.
  - Garanites.
  - (Phantasiasts, Docetæ, Julianists, Garanites) — Three Sects.
  - Acephali.
    - Anthropomorphites.
    - Barsanuphites.
    - Esaianists.
  - Theopaschites.
- Dioscorus.
  - Monophysites.
  - Dioscorians.
  - Severians. .. ..
    - Agnoites = Themistians.
    - Condobaudites.
    - Paulianists.
    - Damianites = Angelites.
    - Cononites.
    - Tritheites = Philoponians.
    - Sergianites.
    - Petrites.
    - Niobites.
  - Timotheans.
  - Theodosians.
  - Diacrinomeni. (*Hesitaters.*)

A.D. 454. S. Leo writes to S. Proterius.

The orthodoxy of Proterius, as having been a disciple of Dioscorus, was at first suspected by Leo: he was therefore the more gratified, on receiving the usual letter, announcing the Consecration of the new Patriarch, to find that his tenets were strictly Catholic: that the name of Dioscorus had been removed from the diptychs, and the Council of Chalcedon inserted therein.[1] His reply was in the most friendly strain: he exhorted Proterius to bring back the heretics by convincing them that his Faith was the same with that of S. Athanasius, Theophilus, and S. Cyril: "as a means to which," he continues, "you will do well to read to them in the first place the works of those Fathers, and in the second, my own letter to Flavian, pointing out the perfect unanimity which exists between them."

[1] S. Leo, Ep. cxxix. Ed. Ballerini. A fragment of the letter of S. Proterius, to which it is an answer, is preserved by Bede, de Nat. Temp. cap. 38.

Proterius was at this time engaged in a work of a different kind. According to the cycle of Theophilus of Alexandria, then used by the Church, Easter, in the following year, fell on the twenty-fourth of April. We are perfectly aware, at the present day, that by an extreme case, it may fall as late as the twenty-fifth; but at that time it was believed that the twenty-first was the limit. S. Leo consulted the See of Alexandria on the subject, and Proterius[1] proved at length that Theophilus was right. His authority, however, does not seem to have carried conviction to Leo, who yielded the point rather from a love of peace, than from a belief in the correctness of the calculation. To prevent such difficulties for the future, Victorius, a Gaul, domiciled at Rome, invented his famous cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years; and his computation was afterwards generally used by the Roman Church. Thenceforward the Paschal Homilies of the Bishops of Alexandria began to fall into disuse.

Question about Easter.

But Proterius found that the difficulties arising from the divided state of his Church, daily increased. Some of the Bishops who had been at Chalcedon were a thorn in his side, and a more formidable adversary arose than even these. This was Timothy, surnamed Ælurus, or the Cat, an Alexandrian Priest, who separated himself, in company with a few Bishops and Monks, from the Communion of his Patriarch, and began to hold assemblies apart, and to speak against the Council of Chalcedon. Proterius convened a Synod of his Bishops, and anathematized them: and the ringleaders were, by order of the government, sent into exile.[2] Undismayed by this punishment of his companions, Timothy visited by night the cells of the Monks, and informed them from the outside that he was an Angel sent from Heaven, to exhort them to forsake the Communion of Proterius, and to elect Timothy, that is himself, Patriarch in his stead. By these means, he perverted many simple monks, and probably procured for himself the surname of the Cat. On the death of Marcian, whose vigour of government was no less remarkable than his orthodoxy of Faith, he collected a body of disorderly monks and desperadoes, seized the great church of the Cæsarea, and was consecrated Patriarch by two of the Bishops whom the

Schism of Timothy Ælurus.

[1] S. Leo, Ep. cxxxiii.

[2] Ep. Egypt. Episc. apud Labbe. Conc. iv. 898 D.

Timothy Ælurus, Patr. xxvi.* A.D. 457.

Council of Alexandria had condemned, and whom the Emperor had exiled. The Governor had been absent from the city: on his return, he was made acquainted with the riot: and finding that Timothy was out of Alexandria, he forbade his return. Infuriated at this edict, the partizans of Timothy assaulted the house of the Patriarch. Proterius fled to the neighbouring church, and took refuge in the Baptistery,[1] thinking that the holiness of the place, and of the season, (for it was Good Friday[2]) would protect him. But he was mistaken. The heretics burst in, respecting neither his grey hairs, nor the devotions in which he was engaged; a soldier pierced his body with a sword,—the mob transfixed it with sharp reeds,[3] exposed it in a place called Tetrapylon, dragged it with insults round the city, tore it in pieces, burned it, and scattered its ashes in the sea.

Martyrdom of S. Proterius.

No sooner was the death of Proterius known to the Church Universal than he began to be regarded as a glorious Martyr; and is justly reckoned among the Saints. A proof of the estimation in which he was long afterwards held in the Western Church occurs in the instructions of S. Atto of Verceil, who recommends the works of S. Proterius, (then extant,) among those of other Fathers, as profitable for his Clergy.[4] "And therefore," as Baronius well says, "though the fury of popular licence slew, dishonoured, burnt, scattered the poor ashes of the Martyr, erased his name from the diptychs, and would fain have destroyed its memory, far more secure are those brazen tablets wherein the name of S. Proterius is written in Heaven: while

[1] Theod. Coll. l. i. Evagrius, ii. 8. Epist. Egypt. Episc. ad S. Leon. Theophanes relates the attack of Ælurus with a good deal of naïveté: "In this year," says he, "a Camelopard, a Taurelaphus, and other monsters were brought to Alexandria, and together with them, Timothy, surnamed Ælurus, disturbed the city." Bolland. Feb. 3, p. 732.

[2] This seems the most probable date: but Theophanes says that it was ἐν τῇ πρωτῇ πασχαλίας ἡμέρα—Cedrenus, τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαββάτῳ, and Liberatus, on Maundy Thursday.

[3] So we gather from a comparison of the accounts given by Evagrius, Nicephorus, and the Menology. Some verses in the latter have a strange turn:

Ὁ Προτέριος σφάττεται τοῖς καλάμοις,
Ὀξύγραφος κάλαμος ὢν κατὰ πλανῆς.

He is celebrated on Feb. 28: possibly because on that day his name was restored to the diptychs.

[4] S. Atto, Opp. p. 293, ii.

* It is in this type that we shall note the succession of Anti-Patriarchs, which begins from Timothy Ælurus.

on earth not one land alone, but every Church pays it merited and annual honours: knowing that he who bore it was graced with the robes of a Pontiff, beautified with the purple of a Martyr, and now hath his part with the Blessed Apostles in Glory everlasting."

Timothy then entered the city boldly, and took upon himself all the functions of Patriarch. He paid his followers from the wealth of the Church, thus depriving the poor of their subsistence; he pillaged the private estate of Proterius; he dispatched the few Bishops who supported him into different parts of Egypt to spoil and to persecute; he advanced heretics in place of the aged Bishops consecrated by Theophilus and S. Cyril; he burnt the Pontifical Chairs used, and cleansed the Altars hallowed by Proterius. The news of these enormities soon reached Rome; and we have several letters of S. Leo on the subject. The first (dated June 1, 457) is to Julian of Constantinople, on certain indistinct rumours of popular disturbances at Alexandria:—on the eleventh of July, when precise intelligence had reached Rome, we find the Pope writing to the new Emperor Leo, to Julian of Constantinople, and to Anatolius of Constantinople: and again, on the first of September, to Leo, to Basil, Patriarch of Antioch, and to the Bishops of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Dyrrhachium.

Several Egyptian Bishops sought refuge at Constantinople from the persecution of Timothy; and presented a memorial to Leo, drawn up in the name of all the Prelates of Egypt and Clerks of Alexandria. In it they relate at length the outrages of the intruder, demand his deposition and exile, remind the Emperor of the promise with which he had begun his reign, to support the Catholic Faith, pray for a canonical election of a new Patriarch, and conclude by promising that in case another Œcumenical Council, which the heretics loudly demanded, should be thought necessary, they would fearlessly come before it. Timothy, for his part, sent a deputation to Constantinople, who presented a memorial wherein he and his party declared their inviolable attachment to the Councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and their rejection of that under Flavian at Constantinople, and that of Chalcedon. This memorial had no signatures, because the number of the heretical Prelates

Deputations at Constantinople.

was so small, that they were unwilling to proclaim their own weakness; the Catholic document was signed by fourteen, four Priests, and four Deacons. A similar memorial was presented to Anatolius of Constantinople; and it is worthy of notice, that no application seems to have been made to Rome.

Leo consults the Bishops.

The Emperor Leo was unwilling to summon the Bishops to another Œcumenical Council, on account of the fatigue, and separation from their flocks to which it exposed them. Instead of this he sent a full account of the late proceedings in Egypt to the Patriarchates and other principal Sees, desiring the assembly of provincial Synods, and a report of their sentiments on the matter in question. Among others who were consulted, S. Symeon Stylites, whose extraordinary life on the summit of a pillar rendered him the object of great veneration, held a conspicuous place; and his answer had no small weight on the Catholic side. The replies of the Metropolitans were all in favour of the Council of Chalcedon, and in condemnation of the election of Timothy, with one exception only,—Amphilochius of Side,[1] and he, while condemning the Synod, also condemned the intrusion of the Egyptian Patriarch. Of these replies we have thirty-six, exclusive of the last; and most of them are signed by several Bishops.

A.D. 458.

Fortified with having again, though in a less satisfactory manner, taken the sense of the Church Catholic on the disputed points, Leo wrote to Stylas, the commander of the forces at Alexandria, to drive Ælurus from that city. The latter came to Constantinople, professed himself a Catholic, and then demanded to be reinstated in his See, as if he had only been driven from it on account of his heretical doctrine. This was prevented by S. Leo, who remarked in a letter to the Emperor, that however pure the faith of Ælurus might be,[2] the enormity of his crimes was sufficient to exclude him for ever from the Episcopate. The wretched intruder was shortly after banished to the Chersonese, under a good guard.

A.D. 460. June 17.

Timothy Ælurus exiled.

In the meantime, supported by the secular arm, the Catholics of Alexandria proceeded to the election of a new Bishop.

[1] Evagr. H.E. ii. 10. It appears, however, that this Prelate afterwards received the Council of Chalcedon. S. Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 229. Le Quien, i. 998.

[2] S. Leo, Ep. 169, Ed. Ballerini.

The result of their choice was Timothy Salofaciolus, or the White, called also Asbus,[1] and Basilicus, a monk of Canopus, and a man of great gentleness and amiability of character.[2] The letters which passed between this Patriarch and S. Leo evince perfect harmony of feeling, and the afflicted Church of Alexandria began to recover itself. The last three letters of S. Leo are addressed respectively to Timothy, to the Clergy of Alexandria, and to the Bishops of Egypt, congratulating them on his elevation, and exhorting to unity. They were written about eight months before the death of that great defender of the truth.[3]

Timothy Salofaciolus, Patr. XXVII. A.D. 460, A.M. 176.

The first fifteen years of the Episcopate of Timothy the White were profoundly quiet: the death of Leo and succession of Zeno caused no disturbance; nor was it till the crimes of the latter caused him to leave Constantinople for fear of assassination, and Basiliscus assumed the purple, that any new trouble arose. Basiliscus himself probably cared no more for one form of religion than for another; but the Empress Zenodia was a determined Eutychian, and influenced her husband in his interference with Church affairs.

The Monophysites of Alexandria, imagining that now was a favourable conjuncture for the promotion of their interests, sent a deputation to Basiliscus, to set forth that Ælurus had been unjustly banished, and to request his recall. The Emperor consented[4]: and Timothy made his public entrance into Constantinople in great state. He was mounted on an ass; and the people before him profanely exclaimed, "Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the LORD.[5]" The procession, however, did not conclude without an untoward accident: the animal on which Ælurus was mounted, fell, and dislocated the foot of its rider. All the enemies of the Council of Chalcedon began boldly to

Timothy Ælurus at Constantinople, A.D. 476.

[1] He is called by Elmacinus, *Surus*, as also by Eutychius (ii. 103).

[2] Le Quien, ii. 414. Makrizi, 228, calls him Severus.

[3] S. Leo, Epp. 143, 4, 5. Ed. Cacciari.

[4] Baronius and Bollandus (Mar. 2) have asserted that Zeno recalled Ælurus from exile. Pagi (476, x. 37,) goes into this opinion, and shews that it arises from a mistake in the present address of one of the letters of S. Simplicius, which has the name of Zeno instead of that of Basiliscus.

[5] Evagrius, H.E. iii. 6. Baronius 476, xlv.

appear; Ælurus was well received by the Emperor, who was guided by his advice.

A circumstance at this time happened, which proves the truth of what we lately stated, concerning the difference between the tenets of the Eutychians and those of the Jacobites. Some Eutychian Monks at Constantinople took the opportunity of presenting themselves to Ælurus, and requesting to be received to his Communion; but were shocked on discovering that he confessed the SAVIOUR to be Consubstantial to us according to the Flesh. It is highly probable that up to this time the Egyptian Monophysites had never made this confession: and it is not unlikely that Ælurus made it rather as matter of expediency than with hearty consent. For he knew that Dioscorus, whom he professed to honour as a Confessor, would never have agreed in it; but he also knew that although his party was then prevalent, his enemies at Constantinople were very numerous and strong, and close observers of all his actions; and he was aware that the writings of that S. Cyril whom all his faction claimed as the great pillar of their heresy, were decisive as to the Consubstantiality of our LORD according to the Flesh with ourselves, and therefore dared not to deny it. It is a *primâ-facie* evidence of the falseness of the Jacobite Creed, that with such miserable duplicity they at once embrace tenets anathematized by the first teacher of their doctrine, and yet hold him for their master, and honour him as a Saint.

Circular letter of Basiliscus.

Basiliscus, by the advice of Ælurus, published a circular letter, in which he professed the faith of the three Œcumenical Councils, and rejected that of Chalcedon. This was signed by Peter the Fuller, the intruded Patriarch of Antioch, Anastasius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Ælurus himself: in addition to whom it was subscribed by nearly five hundred Bishops. Simplicius of Rome and Acacius of Constantinople constantly refused to agree to it.[1]

Ælurus, having thus assisted in the promotion of the general interests of his party, sailed for Alexandria, by way of Ephesus, to which city, in revenge for the opposition he had experienced from Acacius of Constantinople, and to mark his contempt for the Council of Chalcedon, he restored its Exarchal rights; an arrangement which had no permanent effect.[2] Timothy's arrival

[1] Evagr. H.E. iii. 5.

[2] Evagr. iii. 1.

in his See was the signal for the flight of Salofaciolus. He retired to his monastery of Canopus; his personal character had so endeared him to the people, that his enemies would not venture to persecute him. There arose, however, a fresh schism between the heretics. The reception which Ælurus had given to the Eutychian Monks of Constantinople, and his persisting in the Confession of Faith which he had then made, gave occasion to several pure Eutychians to separate themselves from his Communion.

Basiliscus's reign was of short continuance, for Zeno returned to Constantinople after an absence of twenty months. The usurper abdicated the throne; and trusting to the mercy of the conqueror, was starved to death. Zeno, though his private character remained as worthless as ever, shewed himself at this period well-disposed to the Council of Chalcedon: and expressed his firm determination of driving from the Sees the heretical Bishops intruded during the reign of his predecessor. Pope Simplicius urged him more particularly to deliver Alexandria from the oppression of Timothy Ælurus, by sending him into banishment. An imperial edict was issued for the purpose, but the Governor represented to Zeno that this Prelate was now in extreme old age[1]; that a few months more must terminate his life; and that the odium which would attach to his exile might more than counterbalance the evil arising from his stay. He was accordingly permitted to remain at Alexandria till his death, which took place shortly afterwards, and the time of which he foretold; as he easily might do, if, as it appears probable, he poisoned himself. With respect to his character, there can be but one opinion. Even the more moderate of Jacobite authors, such as Elmacinus,[2] are compelled to allow him to have been in all respects worthy of detestation and abhorrence. A.D. 477.

His death did not end the schism; Peter, surnamed Moggus, or Mongus, a Priest of Alexandria, and a very able defender of his heresy, was chosen in his place, and, it is said,[3] was ordained by one Bishop only. The Emperor was indignant at the boldness of the Monophysite party, and sent orders to Anthe- *Petrus Mongus, Patr. xxvii.* A.D. 477.

[1] Evagrius, iii. 12. [2] Renaud. 121.
[3] Ep. Felix. ad Zenon.—Le Quien, ii. 416.

mius, Governor of Egypt, to put the intruder to death,[1] to punish those who had elected and consecrated him, and to re-establish Salofaciolus in the Patriarchal Throne. But by the kindness of Salofaciolus, Mongus was only banished, and a deputation waited on Zeno from the Patriarch to thank him for his interference. The gentleness however which had endeared him to his people seems in his old age to have degenerated into feebleness and indecision; for, after his return, he allowed the name of Dioscorus to be recited in the diptychs. Of this Pope Simplicius very properly complained; and Timothy satisfied him, asking pardon for his fault. It was probably this action which induced Eutychius,[2] the Catholic, but inaccurate historian of Alexandria, to reckon Salofaciolus among the heretics. Peter Mongus would have been capitally punished, had it not been for the intercession of his rival; and so amiable was the character of the latter, that even the Jacobites exclaimed, "Though we communicate not with thee, we cannot help loving thee." And when Mongus made his public entry into Alexandria, his partizans saluted his rival with acclamations, "Thou hast fed thine enemies, O Pope!" "True," replied the old man, "I have fed them.[3]"

In the sixth year of his return, Salofaciolus fell sick; and finding that the disease was mortal, sent a deputation to Zeno, at the head of which was John Talaia, one of his principal Clergy. Its object was to procure the Emperor's leave for a free election of the next Patriarch, with the sole stipulation that he should be chosen from among the Catholic Clerks of Alexandria, and ordained by Catholic Bishops.[4] The Emperor received the deputies graciously, complied with their request, and in the letter which he gave them by way of reply, spoke strongly in praise of John. Shortly after their return to Alexandria, Timothy Salofaciolus departed this life in peace.[5]

Death of Salofaciolus. A.D. 482.

[1] Fleury says, "*de chasser Pierre*," vi. 569. But the words of Evagrius are express, *τὸν μὲν Ζήνων θανάτου ζημιάν προετίμησε*.

[2] Eutych. ii. 103. Le Quien, 121. Renaudot thinks it a fault of the MSS.

[3] Sollerius, p. 58*.

[4] Some Jacobite writers will have it that Talaia went to Constantinople to request permission to nominate the next Patriarch of Alexandria, and obtained leave from the Emperor so to do after he had bound himself by oath never to fill the See himself.

[5] The date of this event is ascertained by a letter of Simplicius, to Acacius, dated July 15, 482, in which he speaks of Salofaciolus as recently dead.

SECTION II.

PATRIARCHATE OF JOHN TALAIA.

John Talaia, Patr. XXVIII.,* A.D. 482, A.M. 198.

John Talaia was elected his successor by the unanimous voice of the Clergy and people. An unfortunate mistake gave rise to a serious misunderstanding with Acacius of Constantinople, which led to disastrous consequences. Talaia took care to inform the Sees of Rome and Antioch, by the usual synodal letter, of his Consecration; and fully intended to have paid the same compliment to that of Constantinople. But, having been in habits of close intimacy with Illus, an officer of some influence at court, he thought that his letters would be received with more favour, both by the Emperor and the Patriarch, if they came through him. They were therefore consigned to the care of a trusty messenger, and sent under cover to Illus; the messenger himself being apparently ignorant of their contents. Illus was at Antioch; and to Antioch the letters were carried. Before they could reach their destination, Acacius had heard from another source of the election of Talaia; and was highly indignant at the slight put upon himself. It happened that there was then at Constantinople, Gennadius, Bishop of Hermopolis the Less, a relation of Salofaciolus, who had been charged by him, in conjunction with Talaia, with the office of his Apocri-

His misunderstanding with Constantinople.

* It may be well to observe, that, henceforward, the number affixed in this volume to each Patriarch, will not accord with that in Le Quien's Catalogue. That writer reckons Mongus, although a heretic, the twenty-eighth in succession, making no account of Talaia: and he reckons Athanasius II., John I., John II., Dioscorus II., Timothy III., Gaianus, and Theodosius, all heretics, as respectively the 29th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, and 36th occupiers of the Chair of S. Mark; omitting 30 (in the Index the notation is different), so that with him, Paul, the next Catholic Prelate, is the 36th, (the latter number being twice counted,) whereas we only reckon him as the 29th. In this method of reckoning, we are but following the example which Le Quien himself subsequently sets: between Peter, his 45th, and Cosmas, his 46th Patriarch, is a gap of about eighty years, in which time there were eight Jacobite Bishops. So that had that laborious and accurate but somewhat confused writer been consistent, Cosmas should have stood 54th on his list.

siarius to Acacius. Gennadius conceived himself to have been slighted by Talaia, and therefore willingly assisted Acacius in the invention of some pretext for his deposition. They devised two accusations: the first, that the name of Dioscorus had been re-inserted in the diptychs by the advice of Talaia: the second, that Talaia had taken an oath, when on his last embassy at Constantinople, that he would never take any steps for securing his election to the Chair of S. Mark. Whether such an oath was ever taken by him is doubtful: but if it were, his conduct in accepting of the dignity, when freely proffered him, can by no means brand him with the guilt of perjury. These calumnies, however, were amply sufficient for the accomplices; and on their advice, Zeno wrote to Pope Simplicius, informing him that John, as a perjured man, was unworthy of the See of Alexandria; and that it appeared best, for the promotion of unity, and composure of the present unhappy discords, to allow Mongus to be restored to that Chair. For Mongus had, by his agents, been practising on Acacius; and the latter, once a firm supporter of the Faith of Chalcedon, was now ready, as the event proved, to fall into heresy. The answer of Simplicius was sensible and well weighed; that while John lay under so grievous a charge as that of perjury, he would never confirm his ordination to Alexandria, however Catholic were his profession of Faith; but the return of a heretic convicted, like Mongus, was not for a moment to be allowed. If he repented truly for his past conduct, that might be sufficient to procure him the Communion of the Church, but could never entitle him to any, much less to so considerable a dignity amongst its rulers.

Banishment of Talaia:

Zeno was indignant at this opposition, and determined to pay no attention to it. Talaia was driven from Alexandria, at his command, by the Governor: and, as he never returned, we may finish his history in this place. He betook himself first to Antioch, where he was furnished with Synodal letters by the Patriarch Calandion,[1] and thence to Rome, where he was favourably received by Pope Simplicius, who exerted himself greatly in procuring his re-establishment; but all to no purpose. Felix, the successor of Simplicius, gave the Church of Nola in Cam-

[1] Liberat. Diac. Brev. 18.

pania to Talaia. He held it several years, and died there peaceably, though the precise period of his decease is not known. With Talaia, the Catholic succession of Alexandrian Bishops ceased for nearly sixty years. he is made Bishop of Nola.

SECTION III.

THE SEE VACANT.

By the advice of Acacius, Zeno, before allowing Mongus to resume his episcopal functions, issued his famous Henoticon, or decree for Unity, the fruitful source of much subsequent division and trouble. It was addressed to the Bishops and Faithful in Alexandria, Libya, Egypt, and Pentapolis, and commanded the reception of the decrees of the first three Councils, and of those alone, confessing the Consubstantiality of the Son of God to us, according to the Flesh, but anathematizing all who, whether at Chalcedon or elsewhere, divided or confounded the Natures, and principally Nestorius, Eutyches, and their followers.[1] This decree was so much the more dangerous, by how much its first appearance was fair; but its rejection of the Council of Chalcedon as an Œcumenical Synod, and its hypothetical attribution of errors to it, rendered it impossible for any Catholic to subscribe to, or be directed by, it. Henoticon of Zeno:

Acacius set the example of communicating with all who would receive it, even though they had previously been heretics, as was the case with the apocrisiarii of Peter Mongus. The latter, in company with Pergamius, the new Prefect of Egypt, sailed for Alexandria, with the Henoticon, which they promised that Mongus should acknowledge; and on their bare word his name was inserted in the diptychs at Constantinople.

Mongus made no difficulty in receiving the edict; and communicated with all who would follow his example, whether hitherto they had been reckoned Monophysites or Catholics. its reception by Mongus.

[1] Evagrius H. E. iii. 14.

But he went farther than the chiefs of his party wished. He publicly anathematized the letter of S. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. He disinterred the body of Salofaciolus; he inserted in the diptychs the names of Dioscorus and of Ælurus. Acacius was much perplexed at this headstrong conduct of his partizan: Mongus assured him that reports were exaggerated; and both to him and to Simplicius asserted his approval of the faith of Chalcedon. He thus equally disgusted the Catholics and the consistent Monophysites; and the unhappy Church of Alexandria was, by the conduct of one wicked man, rent into three divisions. The first of these were the Catholics, weakened and persecuted, but still holding their regular assemblies, and known by the name of Proterians; the second, the followers of Mongus; the third, the pure Eutychians. The last were termed Acephali, or Headless, as having separated themselves from the communion of their Patriarch.[1] The Acephali themselves were split into many parties. Of these, the earliest was occasioned by the arrival of Esaias, a Deacon of Palestine, with episcopal consecration derived, as he said, from the Bishop Eusebius. He was followed by many, who from him were called Esaianites:[2] but others asserted that the hand of Eusebius, when dead, had been laid by others on the head of Esaias, and therefore turned from him with horror. Another sect was that of the Barsanuphites, so called from one Barsanuphius, who pretended, though it would seem falsely, to have received episcopal consecration. The old heresy of the Anthropomorphites reappeared, or rather, perhaps, revived. There was, lastly, an extraordinary schism, bearing the name of Semidalites: they had no succession of Priests, and in order to partake of the Holy Eucharist, they scraped a few crumbs of some of the Bread consecrated by Dioscorus into a vessel of meal, and considered the loaf so baked as consecrated. The Jacobite authors reckon up as many as ten of these miserable sects: they continued, the schism of a schism, for more than two hundred years; but were at length, in great part, brought back to the Jacobite body by Alexander, the forty-

Schisms among the Jacobites.

[1] Timoth. Constant. *de recipiend. hæret. apud* Coteler. *Mon. Eccl. Græc.* tom. iii.

[2] S. Sophronius *ad Sergium, Ep. in Sextâ Synodo lecta.* Le Quien, ii. 420, 21.

[2] Asseman. Dissert. de Monophysit. cap. iv.

third Patriarch of that communion.[1] So wretchedly was the Church of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril divided.

Mongus, having obtained the summit of his ambition, began a cruel persecution of the Catholics. Not Alexandria alone, but the whole of Egypt was involved in it: the representations of the Government, though the Emperor despatched officers on purpose, were despised and rejected; Clerks, Monks, and Laics were subjected[2] to the most grievous maltreatment if they would not receive the edict of the Emperor. Pope Simplicius, by letter, declared his disapprobation of the proceedings of Acacius, and Pope Felix, his successor, sent two legates to Constantinople, with instructions to demand the acknowledgment of the Council of Chalcedon, the banishment of Mongus, and a reply from Acacius to a memorial which Talaia had presented against him. But the legates proved faithless to their trust: they were thrown into prison, and threatened with death, if they would not communicate with Peter Mongus and with Acacius. Yielding to the influence of terror, they appeared in public with Acacius, acknowledged Mongus as the rightful occupant of the Chair of Alexandria, and communicated with his apocrisiarii. The Pope, justly indignant, summoned a Council at Rome; in which, after deposing and excommunicating his legates, and anathematizing Mongus, he proceeded to the further step of excommunicating Acacius. But during the life-time of the latter no advance was made to unity.

Persecution of the Egyptian Catholics.

His successor, Flavitas or Fravitas, was better inclined. He requested, in his synodal letter, for the Communion of Rome: but as his deputies were not instructed to promise that the names of Acacius and Mongus should be erased from the diptychs, they were not instantly admitted to communion by Felix; and before the affair could be arranged, Flavitas died suddenly, and was succeeded by a Catholic Priest, Euphemius. He had, however, sent a synodal letter to Mongus, and Mongus, in his reply, anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. This document coming into the hands of Euphemius, he excommunicated the Bishop of Alexandria; and Councils would have been assembled by the

A.D. 489. Affairs of Constantinople.

[1] See below. Book iv. sect. 3.

[2] Evagrius, H. E. iii. 22. It is singular that Eutychius takes no notice of this persecution.

rival Prelates, had not death cut the projects and the violence of Mongus short. He survived Flavitas not many months; and in the autumn of the year 490 went to his own place.[1]

Oct. 28.* A.D. 490.

Mongus had been a laborious writer; and his works were long preserved in the Monastery of S. Macarius. A few fragments only remain to us, and our loss is probably very small. The Syrian Jacobites have a liturgy which bears the name of Mongus. Of this, however, the Copts know nothing.[2]

Athanasius II., Patr. xxviii. A.D. 490.

The Catholics appear to have been too much dispersed and dispirited to attempt the election of a Bishop; and Athanasius, the parish-, or to adopt the term in use at Rome, the Cardinal-, Priest of one of the Alexandrian churches, was unanimously elected Patriarch.[3] At the beginning of his episcopate he laboured for the uniting of the Catholics and heretics: he contented himself with urging subscription to the Unitive, and was willing to leave the question of the Council of Chalcedon untouched. But we may perhaps be allowed to trace the hand of Providence in the manner whereby the Catholics were delivered from the snare into which the gentleness of the new Patriarch might probably have led them. The Acephali were indignant with, and refused their communion to, Athanasius, on two accounts: the one, that he did not openly anathematize the Council of Chalcedon; the other, that he did not erase the name of Mongus from the diptychs. A deputation from both the Acephali and the friends of the Patriarch waited on the Emperor: but the result was that matters were left on the same footing as before. The four Sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, were now in Communion, on the strength of a subscription to the Unitive; Rome alone stood forth as the Guardian of the Faith.[4] But in his synodal letters to Palladius of

Troubles of the East.

[1] Mongus is not even by the Copts reckoned among the Saints: a fact which pretty tolerably shews the worthlessness of his character.

[2] Renaudot, 124.

[3] Eutychius (ii. 108) calls him Abenas. Makrizi entirely omits him, at least in the printed edition, though Renaudot quotes from him that he held the Patriarchate seven years. Sollerius supposes that he might have been coadjutor to his predecessor, because he is said to have been a fellow-servant with Peter of the Church of Alexandria.

[4] Evagrius, H. E. iii. 31. Pagi, 490, xxv.

* So Sollerius thinks, (p. 65*,) though the day is not absolutely certain.

Antioch, Athanasius virtually anathematized the Faith of Chalcedon: and the breach between himself and the Egyptian Catholics was thus happily made irreconcilable.[1] Pope Gelasius did not cease to fight the battle of John Talaia and the Church of Alexandria, in letters both to the Emperor and to Euphemius of Constantinople: but his endeavours were to no purpose; and Athanasius, having held the See seven years, departed this life in peace. Although a heretic, he is not for a moment to be classed with his predecessor; and his liberality and other virtues have given him a place among the Coptic Saints. He is generally known by the name of Celites; and is said to have built many new churches in Alexandria.[2]

Sept. 17, A.D. 497.

His successor was John, surnamed Hemula, by others Mela. Like his predecessor, he at first carefully abstained from condemning the Council of Chalcedon: and indeed there is reason to doubt whether he ever did so: but he took an active part in continuing the schism between the East and the West. The Emperor Anastasius was of the party of the Acephali, and persecuted the Catholics, more especially Macedonius of Constantinople. In a conversation which the apocrisiarii of John at Constantinople, (of whom one was Dioscorus, his future successor,) held with the legates of Pope Anastasius II., then in the same city, for the purpose of healing, if possible, the schism, they presented a memorial, a Latin Translation of which we still possess.[3] In this they state that the rise of the present troubles must be dated from a mis-translation by Theodoret of Cyrus and his party, of the famous letter of S. Leo to S. Flavian; in which words had been so changed, and phrases so turned, as to render it, in fact, an advocate for the heresy of Nestorius, a heresy peculiarly hateful to the people of Alexandria, from the veneration and love with which they regarded the memory of S. Cyril: that the dislike which the Egyptians had exhibited to this mis-translation had been the cause why the Roman Pontiff, imagining their objections to lie against the genuine document, had suspended them from his Communion; that the Church of Alexandria had sent legates to that of Rome, charged with full instructions, and

John I., Patr. xxix. A.D. 497.

Attempts of his apocrisiarii to obtain the Communion of Rome.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 421.

[2] Eutychius, ii. 108.

[3] Baronius, 497. xv.

capable of explaining the misunderstanding: that, through the artifices of John Talaia, they had not been favourably received; although Pope Anastasius had, they affirmed, confessed that there were errors in the translation. The Confession of Faith which these apocrisiarii exhibited is, so far as it goes, perfectly orthodox; but there is a careful avoidance of all reference whatever to the Two Natures. So far, however, from Anastasius being a bigotted enemy of the See of Alexandria, there is reason to believe that he was by no means a resolute supporter, in his heart, of the Faith of Chalcedon.

The disruption between the Churches became daily worse: Rome, as we have seen, was not in communion with any: Alexandria broke off communion with Jerusalem, which, though hesitatingly, received, shortly afterwards, the Creed of Chalcedon; and Jerusalem with Antioch, because the latter held the Faith of Alexandria.[1]

Ap. 29, A.D. 507.

John only sat in the Patriarchal chair for nine years: his character seems to have resembled that of his predecessor: and like him, he is by the Abyssinians and Egyptian Jacobites reckoned among the Saints.

John II., the Recluse, Patr. xxx. A.D. 507.

To him, John, surnamed Niciota, from Nicius,[2] probably the city of that name in the Thebais, (for there were two,) a relation of the late Patriarch, succeeded. He had apparently practised the Monastic life: for he is by the Arabic writers surnamed Habis[3]; the title given to the most retired kind of recluses. The deplorable state of things, chiefly owing to the heresy of the Emperor Anastasius, still continued. Alexandria was at one time in communion with no other Church: the Unitive became every day more contemptible, as going too far for many, and not far enough for some; and the subdivisions of those who held by Eutyches, or Dioscorus, or the Monophysites, of the Unitive, became almost interminable. John the Recluse was more decidedly heretical than his predecessors; he would not communicate with any that did not expressly anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and he promised two

his attempts to procure the abrogation of the Council of Chalcedon.

[1] Vit. S. Sabæ. Le Quien, ii. 424.

[2] Liberatus incorrectly names him, Machiota.

[3] Eutyches, ii. 132. Makrizi, 235. The latter writer relates that the See was vacant one year: which is directly contradicted by the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis.

hundred pounds of gold to the Emperor, if he would procure the final and decisive abrogation of its decrees.[1] Anastasius was of himself willing to bring to pass such a result: he banished Macedonius from Constantinople, and Flavian from Antioch, who, though not in communion with Rome, as obstinately preserving the name of Acacius in the diptychs, were nevertheless Catholics; and in their places he substituted Timothy and Severus respectively. Severus was regarded as the great champion of the Acephali, or rather of their moderate part: he sent his synodal letters to John Niciota, by whom they were gladly received: and yet, by a strange perversity, the Egyptian Acephali rejected the communion of their own Patriarch.[2] A.D. 513.

Hormisdas, during these troublesome times, filled the chair of S. Peter; at the request of the Emperor he sent legates to Constantinople, for the purpose, if it were possible, of restoring communion between the afflicted Churches. The written instructions which he gave to his legates, containing hypothetical speeches for the Emperor, and the answers which were to be made to each, are the earliest, and some of the best specimens of their kind: but though Anastasius, with strange inconsistency, declared himself willing to receive the Council of Chalcedon, no real progress was made to a reconciliation, because he would not remove the heretical Prelates whom he had intruded. Indeed, his insincerity was shewn by his ultimate proceedings: as Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, steadily refused the communion of Severus, he was deposed from his dignity. A.D. 514.

Bright prospects of the Jacobites.

It is on this period that the Jacobite writers dwell with peculiar complacency: and their heresy had now gained a footing, which it never, before or since, possessed. Severus, Bishop of Ashchumin, one of the principal historians of the sect, and whom we shall frequently have occasion to quote, declares that this was a period of wonders; when the Emperor Anastasius upheld the truth, and Severus of Antioch was a horn of salvation to the orthodox. The synodal letters between the latter and John, were the earliest examples of this interchange between the Jacobite Sees of Antioch and Alexandria; an interchange which has been kept up till this day, the schism having continued in

[1] Theophanes, ad A.D. 512.

[2] Theophanes, *ut sup.*

Intercommunion of Alexandrian and Antiochene Jacobites.

the former city equally, though not with the same power, as in the latter.[1] They are generally despatched by Bishops; but sometimes by Priests; and are read publicly in the churches, that the unity of sentiment among these widely-separated Communions may be kept up and increased.[2]

The memory of Severus of Antioch, in whom this custom began, is solemnly honoured by all the Jacobite Communions; and next to Cyril and to Dioscorus, they regard him as the greatest protector of their sect. His letter to Anastasius is viewed by them in the same light in which Catholics receive that of S. Leo to Flavian.

May 22, 517.*

John the Recluse held the See ten years: his memory is, like that of his two predecessors, celebrated among the Jacobites.[3] A work of his—unless indeed, it be rather of his predecessor,[4]—against the Pelagians, addressed to Pope Gelasius, is mentioned as learned and satisfactory.

Dioscorus II., Patr. xxxi. A.D. 517.

He was succeeded by Dioscorus,[5] a nephew of Timothy Ælurus, and in all probability the same person who had been apocrisiarius of John I., at Constantinople. The new Patriarch was enthroned by the magistrates; a great multitude at once separated from his Communion, demanding the strict

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 127.

[2] The Communion between these two heretical churches has, however, more than once been suspended. It was so between Damian of Alexandria, (570—607) and Peter of Antioch; between Michael I. of Alexandria, (742—767) and John II. of Antioch: and this schism lasted more than one hundred and fifty years; between Christodulus of Alexandria, (1046—1077) and John X. of Antioch, on the question of mingling the Eucharistic bread with oil and salt; between Mark III. of Alexandria, and Michael of Antioch, in the year 1174, on the great Confessional Controversy; and again, between Cyril Laklaki, (1216—1243) and Ignatius David, from the invasion by the former of the jurisdiction of the latter. Asseman, Dissert. de Jacobitis, Cap. iii.

[3] Theophanes relates that John was so strict a Jacobite as to forbid his people going to Jerusalem, (A.D. 517,) to keep the Invention of the Cross. On this, a great number of Alexandrians were seized with madness. If the story and the dates be true, John's death must itself have very shortly followed.

[4] Phot. Cod. liv. Le Quien, ii. 426. Whichever of the two Patriarchs wrote this letter, it must have been before his elevation to that dignity.

[5] Theophanes, ad A.D. 516, who relates what follows.

* Sollerius arrives at this conclusion p. 62*. We have not thought it necessary to set down the jarring accounts given by Severus, Elmacinus, Makrizi, Eutychius, and others, of the duration of these obscure Patriarchates: except when some event of importance hinges on a difference of dates.

observance of the Canons. Fearing a general defection, he was content that the ceremony should be canonically performed by the clergy in the church of S. Mark, and, the rite being finished, he proceeded to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in that of S. John. The principal persons connected with the government of Egypt were present, among them the son of the Prefect. A murmur arose in the crowd against the Prefect Calliopius, who had spoken in praise of Anastasius, the Emperor being odious at Alexandria. His son naturally resented it, and probably by word or deed still further irritated the crowd, who were at length roused to such a pitch of fury, as to rush upon him and put him to death. The commander of the forces fell on the mob, and cut down such as appeared to have been accomplices in the crime. As it was known that the Emperor was highly indignant with the Alexandrians on account of this outbreak, Dioscorus was deputed to go to Constantinople and pacify Anastasius: a commission which he conducted not only successfully, but with great temper. For the Catholics of the Imperial city, imagining that the design of his visit was to procure some decree against the Faith of Chalcedon, insulted him in the streets: he made no complaint, but after transacting his business, returned quietly to Alexandria.

Riots at Alexandria.

Dioscorus at Constantinople.

On his return, he procured the restoration of many of the Acephali to his own Communion,[1] thus imparting to it a strength which it had not possessed since their secession in the time of Peter Mongus. But what he gained in one way he lost in another. The Emperor Anastasius having been taken from the world, Justin, a firm Catholic, succeeded to the purple. One of his earliest acts was the deposition of Severus from the Throne of Antioch. The intruder, on his ejection, found that his safest asylum would be Alexandria: the other churches being either already received, or on the point of being received to the Communion of the West. To Alexandria, therefore,

[1] Liberatus makes this a general union of the Acephali: Arabic tradition constantly asserts that that union did not take place till the time of Mark II. Renaudot says, somewhat sweepingly, *Majus valet Liberati auctoritas quam Arabum omnium:* but both accounts are very compatible. Dioscorus might have been very successful in his endeavours for reunion, and yet left a large multitude afterwards to be joined to his Communion.

he came: and Jacobite profanity commemorates, as a feast, the entrance of Severus into Egypt. Julian of Halicarnassus, deprived for the same heresy as Severus, sought, like him, a refuge in Egypt, though not at Alexandria.[1] The question was put to both, whether the Body of JESUS CHRIST were corruptible or incorruptible? Severus replied, that it undoubtedly was corruptible: otherwise the truth of His Passion must be denied, and the heresy of Manes would be strengthened, which attributed to Him the appearance, but not the reality, of a Body. Julian, on the other hand, who was a stricter follower of Eutyches, answered that it was incorruptible. Otherwise, he continued, we must confess Two Natures, by admitting a difference between the Body of CHRIST, and the Word of GOD. We are not to imagine, however, that by the corruptibility of the LORD's Body, was meant the possibility that, at death, it could be subject to that corruption which humanity undergoes: for the most extreme Corrupticolæ never held thus. The controversy concerned the question, whether that Body were in such sort subject to the wear and tear of Human Nature, as necessarily to require food and rest for its preservation.[2]

Severus and Julian at Alexandria.

Corrupticolæ and Phantasiasts

The Jacobites arranged themselves under one or other of these opinions: the followers of Severus[3] were termed *Corrupticolæ*, or worshippers of the Corruptible: those of Julian *Aphthartodocetæ*, or less properly, *Phantasiasts*. But Dioscorus had no opportunity of interfering in these disputes, for before they had reached their height, he was called to his account, and was succeeded by Timothy, under whose Episcopate the difference

Oct. 6 or 7, 520.

[1] Nicephorus, xviii. 52, 53, 54. Liberatus, c. xix., makes these events to have happened under Timothy, the successor of Dioscorus: and if, with Le Quien, we place his accession in 518, they could hardly have happened before it. But though differing authorities maintain that Dioscorus died in 518, or 528, we prefer with Sollerius, p. 62*, col. ii., the date 520: and this gives time sufficient for the banishment of Dioscorus, and his visit to Alexandria, before the accession of Timothy.

[2] Pagi, 519. xxi., and Niceph. xvii. 29. Liberatus. Breviar. 19. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. ccxxx. Pagi supposes that this controversy did not arise till later, but his reasons do not seem convincing.

[3] How Mr. Newman can say (Essay on Developement, p. 310): "Severus symbolized with the Phantasiasts," is truly wonderful. The Syrian Jacobites commemorate him for having "confounded the Phantastic dreams of Julian." (Renaud. p. 129:) and a work of his against them exists in MS. in the Vatican. Assem. Diss. de Jac. cap. iv.: also B. O. tom. i. pp. 569, 570.

rose to a serious height. He endeavoured to balance between the parties, so as to preserve the Communion of both, but was believed to incline rather to the Creed of Severus. On which a deacon of the Church of Alexandria, by name Themistius, remarked, that if the Body of CHRIST were corruptible, we must confess also that He was ignorant of some things, as, for instance, where Lazarus lay, when He inquired for the spot. Timothy denied this consequence, and Themistius headed another party, called from himself Themistians, but by some, *Agnoites*, or the asserters of ignorance, under which name they afterwards became more famous. *Timothy II., Patr. xxxii.* A.D. 520

In the fourth year of the Episcopate of Timothy, a war and persecution broke out in a distant part of his Diœcese. The western coast of Arabia Felix, on the shores of the Red Sea, was inhabited by a nation called the Homeritæ, known to the Romans in common with other tribes of these parts, by the general name of Indians. It is said that the Gospel was first preached in these regions by the Apostle S. Bartholomew: but it is more certain that they were visited and instructed by Pantænus, the predecessor of Origen in the School of Alexandria. From his time they probably had a succession of Bishops, though we are not in possession of even one of their names; for it is hardly to be believed that the Arian mission of Theophilus, which we formerly mentioned, should have been so utterly fruitless, had not the Homeritæ enjoyed the protection of some able guardian of Catholic Truth.[1] At this time the Christians were sufficiently numerous, and had lately been under the Government of a Bishop named Paul, though it does not appear that at this exact period they were possessed of any Prelate. Their King was named Dunaan. He was not only a Jew, but an inveterate persecutor, and it was his wont to give his subjects the option of professing his own religion, or of being thrown into a pit or trench full of fire. Nagran, one of the principal cities, was entirely peopled by Christians: Dunaan besieged it, and took it by capitulation.[2] Affairs of the Homeritæ. Persecution of Dunaan:

[1] Pagi would make Theophilus to have converted the Homeritæ to Arianism; from whence, through some unknown cause, they returned to the Catholic Faith, 522, viii. But see Le Quien, ii., 663, 664.

[2] Act. S. Arethæ, ap. Surium. Oct. 24. Cedrenus, ad ann. v. Justin. Baronius, 522, xxii. seq., and 523, xvi. seq. Pagi, 522, v.

Unable to render any of the inhabitants apostates, he lighted a huge pile, on which he first consumed the bones of Paul, and then a numerous body of Priests, Monks, and Nuns. Arethas, the Governor of the city, venerable for his age and virtues, was beheaded, and is reckoned among the Saints; many others shared his fate; and many more were led into captivity. But his defeat by S. Elesbaan. Elesbaan, King of Ethiopia, who was zealous for Christianity, and who had already cause of complaint against Dunaan, declared war against him: and, assisted by some Roman forces, overthrew his army, and took prisoners his principal friends and relations. Dunaan, finding that no hope of re-establishment remained, spurred his horse to the edge of a precipice, and was swallowed up in the sea. Elesbaan was requested to choose a King for the Homeritæ, which he accordingly did, and application was then made to Justinian, and the See of Alexandria, for a Bishop, and one John accepted this dignity.

The whole history is excessively obscure: and the great difficulty arises in settling the question, whether the re-established Church of the Homeritæ were Jacobite or Catholic. We have already stated that the time at which Monophysite tenets were carried into Ethiopia is unknown. The evidence seems to stand thus:—Elesbaan is, by the whole Church, reckoned among the Saints,—which establishes the general belief entertained of his orthodoxy. And Gregentius, the successor of John, is not only commemorated in the Menology,[1] but seems, from a fragment of his writings, to have been a Catholic.[2] On the other hand, Dionysius, Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites, affirms, quoting John of Asia, a contemporary of Justinian, that when the orthodox succession was restored to Alexandria, it was rejected by the Homeritæ. The fact that Elesbaan received a Bishop from Alexandria is not convincing, for two reasons,—that the application was made through Justinian,[3] and that the Patriarch of Alexandria is called, not Timothy,[4] but Asterius,[5]—a fact which

[1] Decemb. 19. But the account is mixed up with many fables.

[2] Quoted by Le Quien from Codex Coislinianus, 255. Addressing a Jew, the Bishop says, οὐδέπως συνῆρας ἐν τίσι φύσεσιν ὁ ἐμὸς Δεσποτὴς ἐχρημάτισεν.

[3] Le Quien, ii. 663 B.

[4] Act. Simeon Metaphrast. S. Areth.

[5] Le Quien (ii. 429) excuses S. Elesbaan for applying to Alexandria, on the ground of his being unable to know the real heresy of that See, through his separation from the rest of the Catholic world.

we shall proceed to explain. We are inclined, therefore, on the whole, to believe in the orthodoxy of the new succession.

It was at this time that Jacobus Zanzalus, a disciple of Severus, from whom the whole sect of the Monophysites received the name of Jacobites, was spreading the poison of his doctrine in Syria.

Attempt of Apollinarius.

There is considerable difficulty in either wholly receiving, or totally rejecting, the traditions of both Catholic and Jacobite authors concerning one Apollinarius, or as others call him, Asterius, who was sent by the Emperor to displace the heretic Timothy, and himself to fill the Chair of S. Mark. The account which Eutychius gives is as follows[1]:—Apollinarius, who was of Patrician dignity, found that his claims were not admitted at Alexandria. He therefore called to his assistance the Commander of the Forces, and on the day which he fixed for taking possession of the See, divided the troops into three bodies. One was placed round the doors of the Cæsarea; one kept near himself; and the third was disposed about the streets, to prevent or quell popular commotion. Apollinarius having thus ordered matters, arrayed himself in the Patriarchal Robes, over which he threw his military cloak, and, thus disguised, entered the Cathedral, and mounted the ambo, or pulpit whence the Gospel was read. He then threw off the cloak, appeared in his true character, and began to read the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Fathers of Chalcedon. A violent clamour was raised against it: the people broke out into sedition: the soldiers, on a given signal, attacked them, and the church was filled with bloodshed and confusion. The fate of Apollinarius himself is not recorded. A Prelate of this name shortly afterwards occupied the See of Alexandria; and the ignorance of Oriental historians may have confused his name with the whole story.

Whatever be the truth of this tale, it is certain that Justinian, who had now succeeded Justin, commanded Timothy to come to Constantinople, designing that he should either confess the Faith of Chalcedon, or be driven into exile. Timothy prepared to obey; but, on the eve of sailing, departed this life.

Theodosius, Patr. xxxiii. A.D. 536.

A schism forthwith broke out among the heretics: the secular Clergy and the men of wealth elected Theodosius, of the sect of the Corrupticolæ; but the people and the Monks chose Gaianus,

[1] Eutychius, ii. 152. Renaud. 134.

Disputed succession:

a Phantasiast. It was the custom of the Church that the Patriarch elect should keep vigil by the body of his predecessor, celebrate his funeral, and take the pall of S. Mark from his neck. Theodosius having been ordained by the help of the Chamberlain Calotychius, (a man of great authority with the Empress,) had performed the usual rites, but the rabble burst in with Gaianus, drove the rival Patriarch from the city, and enthroned their favourite.[1] Gaianus thus took upon himself the insignia of the Patriarchate, which he held, however, but three months; for Theodosius represented his case at Constantinople, and Narses, the Chamberlain, was sent with full power to reinstate him, and to banish his competitor. Gaianus was sent into exile, first to Carthage, then to Sardinia. Theodosius was put in possession of the Church, but had little besides the name of Patriarch.[2] Few cared to communicate with him: combats every day took place between the populace and the military, wherein the loss of life was considerable on both sides, though greater among the soldiers: women threw from the tops of their houses, tiles and whatever else came to hand, on the intruders; and Narses revenged himself by burning a portion of the city. At length, weary of these intestine commotions, Theodosius took the resolution of going to Constantinople, where he was received with great honour, as the Empress had engaged that he should embrace the Council of Chalcedon. But as he pertinaciously refused to do so, he was banished to a place called Sycæ,[3] at the distance of six miles from the city, and here he ceased not to propagate his tenets. Constantinople was torn to pieces by his heretical followers and their different factions. Under the name of Theodosians they openly held assemblies: the Gaianites were not a whit behind in audacity; there were the Condobauditæ, so called from the place in which they met, who differed from Theodosius on the Doctrine of the TRINITY; and the Tritheites, who, however they concealed their belief, held, in fact, the existence of Three GODS. These last were also called Philoponites, from their leader, John Philoponus; and the Cononites were another branch of this heresy.

Exile of Gaianus,

and of Theodosius.

Justinian, anxious to put an end to this lamentable state of

[1] Leontius, de Sect. Le Quien, ii. 430.

[2] Liberat. Breviar. 19.

[3] Victor Tunnun. Chron.

division, ordered that a conference should take place between six of the Catholic, and six of the Monophysite, Bishops. It was held in a hall of the palace. The Catholics, at the head of whom was Hypatius of Ephesus, used the utmost lenity, and put forth the utmost strength of argument, during the three days that it lasted; but only one of their opponents was won over to the True Faith.[1]

SECTION IV.

THE CATHOLIC SUCCESSION RESTORED.

Paul. Patr XXIX. A.D. 539.* A.M. 255.

THE Emperor, finding that there was no hope of the conversion of Theodosius, determined on filling his See with some Prelate, who should be a supporter of the Faith of Chalcedon. It happened that Paul, a native of Tarsus, and a Monk or Abbat of the Order of Tabenna,[2] was at Constantinople, whither he had come, for the purpose of requesting the Emperor's assistance in repressing some disorders of which his Monks had been guilty. Pelagius, the Roman Legate at Constantinople, knowing him to be perfectly orthodox, procured his elevation to the Chair of S. Mark, to which he was accordingly consecrated by Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople.[3] Justinian invested him with considerable temporal authority; and understanding that the divisions and heresies were fomented by the civil and military Governors of Egypt, he expressly charged the new Prelate to compel them to do their duty. But, on his arrival at Alexandria, Paul found a cold reception. During the half century which had elapsed since the deprivation of John Talaia, the Monophysite heresy had deeply eaten into the Alexandrian Church. Theodosius was now, by the vacillation of the people, much beloved; and the character of Paul does not seem to have been such as to command either attachment or veneration. His election, too, had been against

[1] Labbe, Concil. iv. 1765.

[2] See Vol. i. p. 229.

[3] Liberatus, *ubi sup.* Theophanes ad ann. Justinian. xiv. Severus, ap. Renaudot, 140.

* The consecration of Paul may with equal probability be placed at the end of the preceding year. See Le Quien, ii. 435.

the Canons; and there had never yet been an example of the consecration of an Alexandrian Patriarch being performed by the Chair of Constantinople. It is true that he might plead in his own justification, not only the extreme necessity of the case, but the consent of all the other Patriarchal Thrones, as given by their apocrisiarii, who had been present at his ordination. There were however but few who would communicate with him: by his enemies he was stigmatized as a new Judas; he had little support but that of the military; and his letters to the Emperor, though they procured him a larger body of soldiery, could not procure him the love of the people.

It is proper to give in this place, the Arabic account of the affairs of Ethiopia[1]; though, if it be received, it must be at the expense of regarding S. Elesbaan as an (unintentional) heretic.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

It happened that the See of Axum became vacant shortly after the ordination of Paul; and the Emperor of Abyssinia, hearing that the Faith of Chalcedon was now professed at Alexandria, refused, in common with the King of the Homeritæ, where the Episcopal Chair was also vacant, to send thither for a new Metropolitan, but deputed an embassy to Justinian, requesting that prince to nominate a Prelate who held the Monophysite belief. He refused, although repeatedly solicited to do so; and so great was the antipathy of the Abyssinians to the true doctrine, that they remained for five and twenty years without any attempt to keep up their succession, nor even to consecrate Priests and Deacons. The latter fact is the more remarkable, because, as we said before, there were in Abyssinia seven Suffragan Bishops under the Metropolitan. It is therefore probable that, in ordinations, they acted only as Vicars of their Primate; just as, according to some authors, the Egyptian Bishops, in administering the same rite, acted as the Patriarch's Vicars. At the end of that time, the Priests were very nearly extinct; and, fearing that their Church would come to an end, they elected one among themselves, and holding the Gospels above his head, professed to confer on him Episcopal Consecra-

[1] Le Quien, ii. 646. Asseman *(Dissert. de Jacob.* cap. ii. *ad finem,)* believes that Jacobitism was first preached in Ethiopia by the exertions of Theodosius when in exile. So uncertain is Ethiopic History! The tale of Baradæus's visit to that country seems utterly false.

tion. This step, however, was rejected by many who held the Monophysite belief; and (if the truth of the story be assumed,) it perhaps led the way to a return of the Abyssinian nation to the Catholic Church,—of which it probably made a part in the time of S. John the Almoner, A.D. 610, since the Coptic Calendar reckons that illustrious Prelate among the Saints.

Theodosius, for his part, was not idle. He composed, during his exile, Catechisms and Sermons for the instruction of his party; and, on hearing of the efforts which Paul was making, dispatched a pastoral letter to Alexandria, exhorting the Jacobites to remain firm in the traditions which they had received.[1] Stimulated by this epistle to new efforts, they built two churches, the first erected of which, called the Angelium, gave rise to the appellation bestowed on its frequenters, and their sect in general, of Angelitæ. Theodosius also dispatched a disciple, Julian, into Ethiopia.[2] But Jacobite accounts of the proceedings of their own party have little authenticity till after the Mahometan invasion; because the Patriarchs of that sect, while the authority of the Roman Emperors lasted, were not allowed to enter Alexandria, and fixed their residence in the monastery of S. Macarius in the Thebais. Here, at a distance from the scene of action, deprived of the means of learning, and daily losing the knowledge of the Greek tongue, it is not to be wondered at that they should obtain very imperfect accounts of what passed in the Church Catholic, and should preserve records still more inaccurate than the sources from which they were derived.

Paul, finding that persuasion and gentle means made but little progress in advancing his interests, determined on having recourse to harsher methods. Seeing that Elias, the military commander, was invincibly attached to the Monophysite heresy, he resolved, using the extraordinary power with which the Emperor had invested him, to remove that officer from his post.[3] Elias was at a distance from Alexandria, and Psoïus, or Psoes, a deacon, and treasurer of the Cæsarea, a friend of the commander, dispatched a letter to him, written in Coptic, by one of the Symmachi, or swift runners, for whom Egypt was famous. This letter fell into the hands of the Patriarch; and remembering the end of Proterius, he determined to crush at once the

Attempt of Psoïus:

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, 141.

[2] Gregor. Bar. Heb. ap. Asseman, Bibl. Orient. ii. 326.

[3] Liberat. c. 23.

conspiracy that seemed to be forming against him. He instantly called for an account of the money received and expended by Psoïus, and as such a document was not on the instant forthcoming, the unfortunate deacon was committed to the custody of Rhodon, the Prefect of Egypt, till Justinian's pleasure could be known respecting him. Rhodon was persuaded, or bribed, by a wealthy citizen, named Arsenius, to put Psoïus to the torture during the night-time, and then to murder him. His relations complained to the Emperor, who, justly indignant, made Liberius Prefect of Egypt, with a commission to inquire strictly into the whole circumstance. Rhodon, being interrogated, affirmed that he had only acted on the command of Paul, whom the Emperor himself had charged him to obey. Paul protested that he had never given any orders involving the death of Psoïus; and at length the guilt was clearly fixed on Arsenius, who was capitally punished. Rhodon was sent to Constantinople and there executed; and Paul, whose dislike of Psoïus had rendered him an object of suspicion, was banished to Gaza. Pelagius, the Legate by whom he had been recommended to the See of Alexandria, was then dispatched by Justinian to Antioch, and, acting on the orders he had received, summoned the Patriarchs of that city and of Jerusalem, with the Bishop of Ephesus and some other Prelates; and, in a Council held at Gaza, they deprived Paul of his pallium, and ordained Zoilus in his place to the Throne of S. Mark.

his murder.

Paul deposed.

Zoilus, Patr. XXX. A.D. 541.* A.M. 257.

Paul, however, was by no means willing to acquiesce in the decision of the Council.[1] He repaired to Constantinople, and promised to present a large sum of money to Justinian, if the latter would restore him to his seat. Justinian promised to do so; and applied to Pope Vigilius for his sanction of the measure. As Vigilius refused, the Emperor found it useless to persevere: and it is not known what became of Paul in the sequel.[2]

[1] Procop. Hist. An. c. 27.

[2] Le Quien conjectures that he fell into heresy, and became the head of the Paulianistæ, an obscure sect of the time, who are mentioned in the treatise, by Timothy of Constantinople, on the reception of heretics. (ii. 435.) Theophanes says that Paul was deposed because he recited the name of Severus, (he means Dioscorus,) in the diptychs. Victor agrees with him; and there may be some truth in the story itself, though it was not the cause of Paul's deposition.

* There is considerable difficulty about this date, which Le Quien puts a year later.

We are here, and almost for the last time, compelled to give a glance at the circumstances under which the Church Catholic was placed, that we may be able to comprehend either the conduct or the fate of Zoilus.

The Emperor Justinian was too much given to interfere with the affairs of the Church, and to take upon himself the anathematizing of heresy, as if his bare edict had the force of an Œcumenical decision. The wild statements of Origen having been brought before him, he published an edict, in which nine of his principal errors were condemned, and himself, though so long since departed in the Communion of the Church, anathematized. The followers of Origen were at this time very numerous, more especially in Palestine; and the Emperor's anathema, subscribed by the Patriarchs, grievously offended them. Theodore of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who was both an Origenist and a Monophysite, devised a method at the same time to avenge the memory of Origen, and to diminish the credit of the Council of Chalcedon. And this leads us to the famous controversy of *the Three Chapters*.

Origen condemned by Justinian

Theodore, who possessed good interest at Court, represented to Justinian, that an easy way was open for the union of the Acephali with the Catholic Church. There were three things, he said, which chiefly set them against the Council of Chalcedon: the letter of Theodoret against the twelve anathemas of S. Cyril; the letter of Ibas to Maris; and the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The last had been notorious also for his writings against the Origenists, which was the reason of the hatred borne to him by Theodore. Now, as Theodoret had been, and the letter of Ibas was said to have been, received in the Council of Chalcedon, and Theodore of Mopsuestia had been mentioned therein with honour, any blow directed against these writers, would in fact be a blow at the Council which received or approved them. This consideration did not enter the mind of Justinian, who, intent upon bringing the Acephali into the Church, drew up an edict in the form of a letter addressed to the whole Church. In this, after giving a profession of his faith at length, he anathematizes Theodore of Mopsuestia, his writings, and his followers; the letter of Ibas; and the work of Theodoret against the Twelve Anathemas.

The Three Chapters condemned by Justinian.

This Edict gave rise to the greatest confusion. The four Eastern Patriarchs[1] signed it, although not without great opposition. The Bishops who refused to do so were deposed or banished. The African Bishops, assembling at Carthage, condemned the edict, affirming their ignorance of the writings it anathematized, their willingness to condemn them if anything heterodox existed in them, but asserting that it was impossible for them to anathematize the dead. The conduct of Pope Vigilius sensibly impaired the credit of the See of Rome. He was ordered by the Emperor to come to Constantinople: on his arrival there, he suspended Mennas from his Communion for four months, on the ground of his having subscribed the edict. At length, pressed by the Emperor and the Court, he assembled a Council to deliberate on the question; then, again vacillating, he broke it off, and demanded the sentiments of the Prelates who composed it in writing. Having received their Confessions of Faith, he at length drew up and published his own, which he termed his *Judicatum*, wherein, without detriment to the Council of Chalcedon, he condemned the Three Chapters. He thus offended both parties: the one by his condemnation, the other by his salvo. A Council in Illyria rejected his decision; and the Council of Carthage went so far as to excommunicate him. Finding that instead of appeasing the dispute, he had only added to the scandal, Vigilius now demanded a General Council, and publicly retracted his *Judicatum*; in the meanwhile ordering that no one should presume to speak either for or against the Chapters, until an Œcumenical decision could be obtained. A preparatory Council was held at Mopsuestia, in which it was clearly proved that the name of Theodore had never been in the diptychs since the memory of man.

Vigilius at Constantinople.

[1] Facundus iii. 3, 4.

SECTION V.

THE FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL.

In the meantime, Zoilus, who had retracted his subscription to the Emperor's edict, was banished from his See; and Apollinaris,[1] by the royal authority, intruded in his place. Theodore of Cæsarea, now imagining his triumph certain, began to press Vigilius to condemn the Three Chapters; and removing the name of Zoilus from the diptychs, inserted in its place that of Apollinaris. The Pope then declared the Eastern Prelates separated from his Communion. The indignation of the Emperor obliged him to take refuge in a neighbouring church, where he clung to the shafts which supported the altar. The envoys of Justinian attempted to draw him thence; and in the struggle which ensued, the altar itself was nearly thrown down. At length, on a promise of personal security, he came out; but as he found himself closely guarded, and daily treated worse, he made his escape by night, and took refuge in the church of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon,—the same in which the Council had been held. Here he remained for a considerable period, until Justinian gave him his word assuring his safety, and the Eastern Bishops appeared more willing to come to terms.

Apollinaris, Patr. XXXI. A.D. 550. A.M. 266.

Apollinaris, summoned to the General Council, was now at Constantinople; and with Eutychius, who had succeeded Mennas, and Domninus of Antioch, presented their Confession of Faith to the Pope, which he found orthodox, and gave them his Communion; thus acquiescing in the deposition of Zoilus. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the Fifth Œcumenical Council, in some respects as remarkable an assembly as the Church ever knew. God's good providence over His Church was wonderfully manifested in it; for while the result to which it came, the condemnation of the Three Chapters, was precisely that which the enemies of the Truth, as set forth in the Council of Chalcedon, had been anxious to bring about, that result was accompanied by a strong protest in favour of the obnoxious Council, and a salvo, that by it nothing which it had determined was

The Three Chapters condemned.

[1] Or as others, whom Sollerius follows, Apollinarius.

impugned or slighted. It was a remarkable assembly, too, in continuing its deliberations although Pope Vigilius refused to be present; and in decreeing the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although the same Pope expressly forbade it in his *Constitutum*, published during the sitting of the Council; and it is still more remarkable that Vigilius, after the conclusion of the Synod, should have confessed a want of charity in refusing to sit with his brethren, and should have ratified their decrees, though contravening his own Constitutum. The condemnation of the Chapters, in the case of Ibas and Theodoret, did not extend to their authors; but the person and followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia were, as well as his works, condemned.

At the conclusion of the Council, Apollinaris returned to Alexandria. It does not appear that any great accession to the Church took place in Egypt, in consequence of the Council of Constantinople; and the earlier years of the Episcopate of Apollinaris are undistinguished by any event of importance. For although many of the Western Churches rejected at first the Fifth Œcumenical Council, as believing it prejudicial to the honour of the Fourth, in the East it was unhesitatingly received by all, with the exception of some communities of Monks in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, who, being Origenians, could not bear the condemnation of that Father, said to have been pronounced by the Council, though in what Session, or in what manner, we are not certainly informed.

It is remarkable that Justinian, who was so much given to the discussion of abstruse points of Theology, and who was accustomed to require from his Prelates unhesitating obedience to all his decisions thereon, should himself have died in heresy. Perverted by the same Theodore of Cappadocia, who had been the principal means of the assembling of the Fifth Council, he gave at length into the error of the Incorrupticolæ, which, as we have already seen, was closely allied to that of the extreme Eutychians. As was his wont, he published an edict, in which he asserted that new doctrine, and which he required all the principal Bishops to sign. But he prevailed with none: S. Eutychius of Constantinople was sent into exile for his firmness, and the Sees of Antioch, and in all probability Alexandria, severely threatened. But the death of the Emperor delivered the Church from further persecution on this account.

Justin, who succeeded him, although a prince of dissolute life, began his reign with professions of strict orthodoxy. The Church of Alexandria was now sorely tried: Theodosius was still living, A.D. 566 * and though in exile, exercised considerable authority in the city; the Gaianites had lately consecrated Elpidius as their Bishop,[1] so that Apollinaris had two rivals in the Chair of S. Mark. Justin therefore dispatched Photinus, a step-son of the great Belisarius, into Egypt, with full power to settle the affairs of the Church. Elpidius was seized and sent into exile, but died on the way. The accounts of the Church, under the Episcopate of Apollinaris, seem to have fallen into confusion; and his brother Agatho, in endeavouring to rectify them, threw the treasurer into prison on a charge of mal-administration; he contrived to make his escape; and thus fresh elements of confusion were added to the already disturbed state of things.[2]

Photinus sent to Egypt.

At length Theodosius departed this life. Apollinaris, if we may believe the accounts of Monophysite historians, not only received the tidings with great joy, but gave a sumptuous banquet on the occasion, thinking that now the schism was completely extinct.[3] But, as it happened, the governor of Alexandria was well inclined to the Jacobites; and by his connivance, they proceeded to another election: the Gaianites and Theodosians finding that their only hope of injuring the Catholic Church was by their own union. The terms and duration of this concordat are very obscure. It would appear that it was determined to elect a Patriarch who should hold a *via media* between the two parties; that one Dorotheus was accordingly chosen, who soon proved himself a mere Gaianite; that the Theodosians then chose John, who, whether he died before consecration, or went off into some other heresy, or became a Catholic, is not reckoned by the Monophysite writers in their list of Patriarchs[4]; and finally, the Gaianites having become now a determined schism from the other Monophysites, that Peter was elected by the Theodosians, and was consecrated by Paul, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.[5]

Death of Theodosius, A.D. 567.

Concordat between the Theodosians and Gaianites.

[1] Theophanes, ad ann. Justinian, xxxviii.

[2] Theophanes, *ubi sup.*

[3] Severus, ap. Renaudot, 143.

[4] This is the most plausible account that can be made out from the conflicting statements of Severus, Theophanes, and the work of Timothy of Constantinople. See Le Quien, ii. 439, 440: whom, however, we have not closely followed.

[5] Asseman (B. O. ii. 69).

* Manse, note [1] in Pagi, 565. ii.

Peter III., Patr. xxxiv. A.D. 567.

Apollinaris, on receiving the tidings of Peter's consecration, wrote to Constantinople, to inform the Emperor, and to request assistance. But before his letters reached the Court, he departed this life. His character does not seem to have fitted him for the very difficult post he held; he would appear to have been unable to acquire influence, and incapable of contending with the heretics by whom he was surrounded. There does not, however, seem any good reason for accusing him of that cruelty to the Jacobites which these writers assert him to have practised, and that he slew two hundred thousand of them is perfectly incredible.[1]

Death and character of Apollinaris.

On the characters of this Prelate and of his predecessor, humanly speaking, the future fortunes of the Church of Alexandria depended. Had they by possessing the zeal and piety of their successors, been enabled to crush heresy in the very bud, Alexandria under the Mahometans must indeed have been a persecuted, but would nevertheless have been an united Church: the infidels could not have fostered an heretical party to the detriment of the Faith, and the almost total destruction of the Catholic succession in Egypt. As it was, though some bright years were still in store for the Church of Alexandria, they were but like a parting sun-gleam before a long night: and neither the piety of S. Eulogius, nor the charity of S. John the Almoner, could entirely cut down that heresy which the passions and worldliness of Paul and Apollinaris had permitted to grow up.

SECTION VI.

DECLINE OF JACOBITISM.

John I., Patr. XXXII. A.D. 568.* A.M. 285.

Apollinaris was succeeded by John, who, contrary to the Canons, was ordained at Constantinople: and this gave great

[1] Hist. Patriarch. ap. Soller. p. 67*. Yet Eutychius believed the tale, (ii. 152,) because he confounded the doings of that Apollinaris or Asterius, whom we have already mentioned with those of the Patriarch of whom we now speak. Conf. Renaudot, 134; Le Quien, Index in tom. ii. p. xvi.

* We place the accession of the Patriarch a year earlier than Sollerius, to accommodate—amidst a vast confusion of dates—the account given by us above of the mission of Apollinaris to Constantinople.

matter of triumph to the Jacobites. Anastasius of Antioch, one of the holiest Prelates of the age, did not fail, in his reply to the synodal letter of John, to reproach him with this violation of order: and this, as well as his defence of the truth in other cases, provoked the profligate Justin to depose the Patriarch of Antioch.

Peter, the Jacobite Patriarch, is said to have been profoundly learned in Ecclesiastical history, and to have had six hundred monasteries under him, and was succeeded by Damianus, his *syncellus*. The syncelli were a kind of confidential ecclesiastics, who were always in the company of their Bishop; to be witnesses of the purity of his life; that in case any scandal should arise, it might be promptly and satisfactorily contradicted. The Jacobite heresy, however, seemed tottering to its downfall: not only was the communion between the Egyptian and Antiochene Monophysites interrupted, on account of some novelties introduced by the latter into their profession of faith on the subject of the HOLY TRINITY, in which Damianus also, though in the contrary manner, was heretical; but the Acephali procured for themselves a Bishop; it is said that only four of their presbyters remaining, three of them consecrated the fourth, by name Aristochas.[1] This was done in the Eastern part of Egypt: the Acephali, who were in its Western division, indignant at this monstrous proceeding, constituted—by what means we are not informed—a second Bishop over themselves. It is possible, however, from the ignorance of Jacobite writers in all Ecclesiastical history previous to the Mahometan conquest, that this account may only be a repetition of the schism which we related as happening in the time of the immediate successors of Peter Mongus. Damianus, so far as the obscurity of the history will allow us to understand, would appear to have fallen into the heresy of Sabellius.

Damianus, Patr. xxxv. A.D. 570.

Schisms among the Jacobites.

In what manner, and with what success, John, in the meanwhile, upheld the interests of the Catholic Church, we have no means of determining. But the Church of Alexandria was yet again to resume her former glory, and to enjoy the blessings of peace, before her long season of humiliation and strife, under the followers of the Arabian impostor, should commence.

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 145.

SECTION VII.

PATRIARCHATE OF S. EULOGIUS.

S. Eulogius, Patr. XXXIII., A.D. 579. A.M. 295.

On the death of John, Eulogius,[1] a priest of the Church of Antioch, and Abbat of the Monastery of the Mother of God in that city,[2] was unanimously chosen his successor. He was either, according to the vicious practice of the times, consecrated at Constantinople, or else paid a lengthened visit to that city, shortly after his accession. It was here that he formed an intimate friendship with Gregory, then apocrisiarius of Pope Pelagius, but afterwards himself raised to the Chair of S. Peter, and known in the church by the well deserved epithet of *the Great*. This friendship lasted through the whole of the lives of these Prelates.

His works.

The earlier works of S. Eulogius consisted of a treatise in six books, against the Novatians, who, after three hundred years' separation from the Church, still lingered in Alexandria and at other places. It appears that this sect protested against the veneration in which the relics of Martyrs were held: and one book of the treatise was devoted to the consideration of this subject.[3] We find the Patriarch engaged in writing against the Eutychians [4]: exposing the fallacies of Monophysitism by the contention between the Theodosians and Gaianites, and stating the principles and duties of the Monastic life. The character which Photius gives of his works is favourable. His words, says he, are usually well chosen: the construction of his sentences sometimes approaches solecism: but his deep acquaintance with, and happy application of, the Scriptures, is highly instructive. He was vigorously engaged in propagating the Faith of Chalcedon; and that not less by his admirable sanctity than by his excellent doctrine: and it was universally agreed that the Chair of S. Mark had not been so worthily filled since the days of S. Cyril.[5]

[1] Photius, Bibliothec. Cod. 126.

[2] The life of S. Eulogius is written in the fourth volume of the September of the Bollandists, by Stilting, one of the most learned contributors to the work.

[3] Photius, Cod. 182, 208.

[4] Ibid. 225.

[5] Ibid. 217.

In the midst of these labours S. Eulogius was called on to resist a heresy which appears to have made some progress at Alexandria. One Dositheus, in the very early times of the Church, had arisen in Samaria, giving out that he was the prophet spoken of by Moses, in the words: "A Prophet shall the LORD your GOD raise up unto you from among your brethren." His pretended miracles, or real dealings with the Evil One procured him many followers: yet the Dositheans were so nearly extinct in the time of Origen, that the entire number of the sect did not exceed thirty. At a later period it must have much increased in strength: for it not only created much interest in Palestine, but at Alexandria, a city which abounded with Jews. These insisted that Joshua was the Prophet intended; an interpretation which a fair consideration of the words will not admit. S. Eulogius deemed it necessary to summon a Council for the purpose of condemning both parties: his most learned Prelates were invited to attend it: and it in some degree brought to mind the earlier and better ages of the Church. The question was carefully discussed: and the Council finally pronounced, that the Prophecy in question did not refer to any mere man, but to the LORD JESUS CHRIST. This is one of the few instances in which a Catholic Synod pronounced authoritatively on the meaning of a particular text; a proceeding of which heretical assemblies give many examples.[1] Eulogius, not contented with this decision, composed a work against the same Samaritans, in defence of the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead. He also addressed a letter to S. Gregory of Rome, on the Monophysite heresy, which that Prelate highly commended, and congratulated the Church on the perfect unanimity which prevailed between the East and the West on this subject. Indeed, it was time that a defence of the Faith should be undertaken: for during the Patriarchate of Eulogius, an Egyptian of high rank employed no less

A.D. 588, or 589.

Dositheans condemned in the Council of Alexandria.

[1] Phot. Cod. 883. Tillemont, by a mistake, perhaps unique in his accurate writings, attributes this Council to 456, because a false reading in Photius gives Marcian for Maurice. He therefore puzzles himself to discover who Eulogius, its President, could be: and at last remarks that it was possibly an Eulogius who was Bishop of Philadelphia in Arabia Petræa. S. Leo. Art. 155. Stilting, Sept. 4. p. 89. Berteau, Hist. Ord. Monast. iv. 29. Le Quien, ii. 443.

than eighteen amanuenses, for the purpose of adulterating the text of the most celebrated Fathers with Monophysitical error.[1]

Affair of S. Gregory of Antioch.

We next find S. Eulogius at Constantinople, in a Council summoned under the following circumstances. S. Gregory of Antioch had been engaged in a dispute with Asterius, governor of the East: the inhabitants sided, as their prejudices or love of truth led them, with the Count or the Prelate: the rabble were on the side of the former, and Gregory could not pass through the streets without being insulted. John, the successor of Asterius, was commanded by Maurice, who was now Emperor (and whose character, in an age of licentiousness, is spotless, except on the ground of parsimony,) to inquire into the origin of this dispute, and, if possible, to compose it. So far from doing so, the new Count, following the steps of his predecessor, gave public notice of his willingness to receive any complaints which might be lodged against Gregory. This invitation of course produced several charges. The two most important accused the Bishop of incest, and exciting discontent against Maurice. Gregory, confident in his own innocence, offered to defend himself on the second head before John himself: on the former, he appealed to the Emperor. The four other Patriarchs assisted at the Council appointed to investigate the case, either in person or by their deputies: there were Metropolitans and Bishops present, but the proceedings were not strictly canonical, inasmuch as, in a purely Ecclesiastical cause, the senate were also recognized as judges. Gregory was acquitted, and dismissed with honour: but this Council gave rise to a more important question. John, surnamed the Faster, from his frequent abstinences, was then Patriarch of Constantinople: and in the acts of this Synod he assumed the title of Universal Bishop. S. Eulogius would appear to have disapproved of this unmeaning and pompous appellation from the beginning, and Pope Pelagius separated the See of Constantinople from his communion; notwithstanding which, John the Faster still persisted in retaining the title.

A.D. 595.

Gregory, on his accession to the Chair of S. Peter, though protesting against the pretension of John, did not think fit to

[1] Anastas. Sinait. ap. Le Quien, ii. 445.

separate him from his Communion. But in the sixth year of his Pontificate, he addressed a letter to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, who were chiefly interested in opposing the exorbitant pretensions of Constantinople. He points out that the adoption of this title by one Patriarch, necessarily degrades all the others; that the error or fall of an Universal Bishop would involve the whole Church in his mistake or guilt: that the anger of the Emperor, if provoked by opposition to the title which he allowed the Prelate of his own city to assume, was not to be feared; that the other Bishops should remember the end to which they were promoted, the preservation of the Truth; that to lay down rank for this end was a glorious sacrifice: and that the question was not merely one of words and forms, but of faith, because it touched on the Infallibility of the Church Catholic.[1]

Correspondence between S. Gregory and S. Eulogius.

S. Gregory shortly after addressed another letter to S. Eulogius, which cannot but be highly interesting to an English Catholic.[2] It commences by a congratulation on the spread of the Faith of Chalcedon in Egypt: in return for these good news, the Bishop of Rome proceeds to inform his brother Prelate of the conversion of the Angles: how S. Augustine had been dispatched for this great work, in company with other Roman Monks; how he had received consecration from the Gallican Bishops; how it had pleased God to confirm his mission with the most illustrious miracles; and how, at the preceding Feast of Christmas, ten thousand Pagans had received the Illumination of Holy Baptism. A.D. 598.

S. Eulogius, in the letter to which the above is a reply, had mentioned his refusal of the title of Œcumenical Bishop to Cyriacus, the successor of John the Faster, "as," said he to Gregory, "you ordered me." "I pray you," replies S. Gregory, "to use the term *ordered* no more. I know who I am, and who you are: my brother by position, my father in character. I ordered nothing: I only advised: and even that advice you have not strictly followed. I requested you to give that title neither to the See of Constantinople, nor to any one else: and you have applied it to myself. Away with all terms which excite vanity, and wound charity."

[1] S. Gregor. Ep. v. 43.

[2] Ibid. Ep. viii. 30.

Nor was the compliment to Eulogius conveyed by this letter entirely without foundation. Great as was the learning of S. Gregory, and high as has been the esteem in which he has always been held by the Church, Eulogius was his superior in a thorough knowledge of Ecclesiastical History. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the correspondence of these Prelates. In writing to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Gregory had mentioned two causes of complaint in the synodal letters received from Cyriacus on the accession of the latter to the Throne of Constantinople. The one was his retention of the title of Œcumenical Bishop: the other, that among the heretics, whom, according to the ancient custom, he condemned in that epistle, the name of Eudoxius was inserted.[1] S. Gregory seems to have been perfectly at a loss as to who this Eudoxius could be; and was disposed to be offended that one, not condemned, so far as he could find, in any Council, should be anathematized by a single Patriarch. S. Eulogius explained, that this Eudoxius was the same who had been the head of the pure Arians in the reign of Constantius, and had, contrary to the canons, been translated from Antioch to Constantinople; and was, on all accounts, justly anathematized by Cyriacus.

*Anastasius Apozygarius, Patr. xxxvi. A.D. 603.**

In the meantime, the Jacobite Patriarch Damianus was succeeded by Anastasius Apozygarius, who appears to have possessed more courage than his predecessors. Notwithstanding the danger to which his appearance in Alexandria exposed him, he ventured to hold ordinations, not only of Priests, but even of Bishops, in the city. The Churches which the Jacobites possessed within the walls, or in the suburbs, and which had apparently been deserted by them, were now supplied by him with Priests: and he even built another church under the name of S. Michael.[2] Yet, notwithstanding his energy and exertions, he was much troubled by the Gaianites, who possessed at least two Bishops. S. Eulogius also viewed his proceedings with some uneasiness; a feeling shared by the leading men on the Catholic side. On the murder of Maurice by Phocas, and accession of the latter, one of these wrote to the Emperor, misrepresenting, if we may trust Monophysite writers, but probably stating strongly, the

[1] S. Gregor. Ep. vi. 4.

[2] Severus ap. Renaudot, p. 151.

* Le Quien, ii. 444. Sollerius (p. 68*) prefers the date 607.

errors of that party: and the result was an order to the prefect of the province, that one of their churches should be taken from them, and put into the hands of S. Eulogius.

The correspondence between that Patriarch and S. Gregory was kept up during the whole course of their lives: and allusions are made to various presents that passed between the friends. Thus, at one time, we find Gregory acknowledging the receipt of some *colatum*, and *viritheum*, of which all that can be said is, that they were some kind of beverage.[1] He sends in return six pallia of Aquitaine manufacture, and two stoles.[2] To S. Eulogius, S. Gregory addressed one of the last letters he ever wrote, in which he details the symptoms, and describes the violence of his disease, the gout.

Death of S. Eulogius.

Nor did Eulogius very long survive his friend. He had done all that was in the power of man to restore peace to his See, and though it was not the will of GOD that his efforts should be more than partially successful, he has received even in this world the recompense of his merit, and is both by the East and the West reckoned among the Saints. He departed to the joy of of his LORD, Feb. 13, 607.[3]

Theodore Scribo, Patr. XXXIV. A.D. 607. A.M. 323.

The peace which S. Eulogius had enjoyed and bestowed did not continue in the time of his successor, Theodore, surnamed Scribo,[4] of whom however we know little besides the name. The feeble government of Phocas encouraged the revolt of Heraclius, Governor of Africa, whose son, of the same name, sailed to Constantinople, took Phocas prisoner, struck off his head, and possessed himself of the purple. The Monophysites, availing themselves of the unsettled state of public affairs, while Heraclius was yet in rebellion in Africa, and encouraged by the

[1] Stilting, Sep. 4, 91.

[2] S. Greg. Ep. vii. 40.

[3] Le Quien, ii. 443. On that day he is celebrated in the Menology. The Western Church commemorates him Sep. 13. Stilting places his decease in 605 or 606: Sollerius (wrongly) as early as 604. We follow Le Quien. Two visions are related to have been seen by S. Eulogius, by Moschus, in the *Pratum Spirituale*: one, in which, during nocturns, the Martyr Julian appeared to him, under the form of his Archdeacon of the same name: the other of the apparition of S. Leo. Cotel. Mon. Ecc. Gr. ii. 414.

[4] Nicep. xxiii. 56. Eutychius, ii. 215, who strangely says nothing of his murder.

He is murdered.

boldness of their Patriarch Anastasius, fell upon Theodore, and cruelly murdered him, in the second year of his episcopate. He was thus the second Patriarch who had perished by the hands of the same heretics.

SECTION VIII.

PONTIFICATE OF S. JOHN THE ALMONER.

S. John the Almoner, Patr. XXXV. A.D. 609. A.M. 325.

We come now to the last Patriarch under whom the Church of Alexandria can be properly said to have flourished. John[1] was a native of Amathus, in Cyprus, and of good family, being the son of the governor of that island; he had been married; but having lost his children and his wife, he devoted himself to God, and was distinguished for the extensiveness of his alms. Others, however, affirm that he had married against his will, and had never had children. Thus he had never been either a monk, or in the secular clergy: but so great was his reputation for piety and charity, that on the murder of Theodore, the Catholics of Alexandria requested the Emperor to nominate him as their Patriarch. John was vehemently opposed to accepting the proffered dignity: but the urgency of the Egyptians and the decision of the Emperor prevailed. His life was written by Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, and translated into Latin by one Anastasius, librarian of the Papal palace at Rome. As Leontius was a contemporary of John, and only six miles distant from Amathus, and as he possessed a high reputation for virtue, (which we learn on the occasion of an extract from his writings being read in the Second Nicene Council, when the then Bishop of his See pronounced his eulogium,) we have every reason to receive unhesitatingly his account of S. John, and of the good works and almsdeeds which he did.[2]

[1] His Life is given by Bollandus himself, under Jan. 23. It was, in the first instance written by John Moschus and Sophronius: but that work is lost; then by Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis, in Cyprus; the translation of which, made between 858 and 867, is the only biography of the Saint we possess, except that of Simeon Metaphrastes: which has as little authority as his compositions usually have.

[2] Sigebert de Script. Eccles. c. 57. Possevin. Concil. Nicæn. ii. Act 4, all quoted by Bollandus, § i. 8.

On his arrival at Alexandria, he not only found heresy again rampant, but discovered that simony was extensively practised among the Catholics. The earliest years of his episcopate were spent in depressing the one and exposing the other: but an occasion of exhibiting the virtue in which he more especially excelled was not long in presenting itself.

Conquests of Cosroes. A.D. 614.*

Cosroes, King of Persia, who had, during the beginning of the reign of Phocas, contented himself with trifling predatory excursions, and temporary inroads on the Roman Province, commenced a settled system of invasion towards its conclusion. Aleppo, Antioch, and Damascus, successively fell into his hands, and in the fifth year of his conquest he besieged and took Jerusalem. Ninety thousand Christians were massacred, and that principally by the Jews, who purchased them from the Persians on purpose to put them to death; the churches were burnt: their treasures and sacred vessels pillaged: the True Cross fell into the hands of the Invaders; the Patriarch Zacharias, and an immense number of the inhabitants were carried into captivity. The whole of Syria was ravaged: and many sought a refuge from the fury of the Persians in Egypt. Men of all ranks and of every station appealed to the liberality of John: Bishops and clergy, magistrates and the common people, must have perished alike, if he had not been, as it were, raised up to save them. The treasures of the Church of Alexandria were immense; at the accession of John there were four thousand pounds of gold in its coffers: and he received innumerable contributions from the faithful for the promotion of his charitable designs. Not content with feeding and clothing all the refugees, he sent large sums to Jerusalem, for the redemption of the captives, and the rebuilding of the churches. Modestus, an Abbat, the Vicar of the Patriarch Zacharias, was charged with the proper management and distribution of these alms.

He established hospitals for the sick: he visited and consoled the dying: he supplied the recovering with necessaries. Innumerable are the anecdotes related of his generosity. Among those who applied for daily alms, were some who had retained golden ornaments; the dispensers of the Patriarch's bounty hesitated to relieve such applicants, and complained to John.

* See Le Quien, iii. 250.

He was much offended, and remarked that neither God nor he were desirous to have such inquisitive and officious ministers: that were the money his own, the case might be different; but that if the whole world came to ask alms at Alexandria, they could not exhaust the infinite riches of God's goodness.

Famine at Alexandria.

To add to the general want, there was a deficiency in the rise of the Nile; provisions were dear: the treasury of the Church was exhausted; the Patriarch borrowed till he could find none who would lend or trust; and still the scarcity became more terrible, and the number of fugitives increased daily. There was an inhabitant of Alexandria, a rich man, who was desirous of being admitted to the Diaconate; but having been twice married, was canonically incapacitated for that office. He thought that the present was a favourable opportunity of pressing his request: but, not daring to make the communication by word of mouth, he drew up a memorial to the Patriarch, in which he offered, if he might be ordained Deacon, to put at the disposal of the See of Alexandria, an immense supply of corn, and a hundred and eighty pounds of gold; alleging, though not much to the purpose, the passage from the Hebrews, where S. Paul teaches that "the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law," as a proof that the strictness of the Canon must give way to considerations of public good. It was a sore temptation for the Patriarch: he summoned the inhabitant who had made the offer, and the latter came with the joyful anticipation that it would be accepted. He was equally disappointed and confused when S. John remarked that it would be a great and a most opportune assistance: but the motive being impure, the offering must be declined. "God," he continued, "Who supported the poor before either of us were born, can find the means of supporting them now. He Who blessed the Five Loaves and multiplied them, can bless and can multiply the two measures of corn which remain in my granary." Hardly had the applicant been dismissed, when tidings were brought, that two of the great vessels which belonged to the Church had returned from Sicily with a large cargo of corn: and the Patriarch, falling on his face, thanked God that he had not been permitted to sell His gifts for money.

Union between Anastasius and Athanasius.

In the meantime, the Patriarch Anastasius had been diligently labouring to put an end to the schism which had, as we have related, subsisted between the Jacobite Communions of Antioch and Alexandria: and the invasion of Syria by Cosroes gave him the opportunity of effecting his design. Athanasius had been raised to the Monophysite Chair of Antioch: and a synodal letter was dispatched to him by Anastasius, setting forth his desire for union, and his grief that it should ever have been interrupted. Athanasius returned a friendly reply: and with the advice of his Bishops, received Alexandria to his communion. On the news of the advance of Cosroes on Antioch, Athanasius fled into Egypt: and the meeting of the two Patriarchs was accompanied with great rejoicings and pomp.[1] The Jacobite clergy of Alexandria were assembled, and addressed by Athanasius, who afterwards communicated with them: and having remained a month in Egypt, returned again to his Province. Athanasius possessed the more authority, and his visit was the more cheering to the Jacobites, because he was, at the time, the only Patriarch of Antioch: no orthodox successor having been given to S. Anastasius, who had been murdered by the Jews about the same time that Theodore Scribo had fallen a victim to the Jacobites.[2] This union is condemned in the strongest terms by S. Sophronius of Jerusalem. "Be Athanasius the Syrian, and Anastasius Apozygarius," says he, "and all that madly receive their agreement that is no agreement, anathema and catathema.[3]

Andronicus, Patr. xxxvii. A.D. 614.*

Anastasius of Alexandria did not long survive this visit. That he was held by his party as an able and learned defender of their tenets all must admit, from the catalogue of his works. His Sermons, Catechetical Works, and Paschal Epistles are all mentioned by the Arabian writers. His own party, however, are compelled to confess that their Communion was, during his time, at a very low ebb. He was succeeded by Andronicus,[4] a deacon of the church of the Angelium, which we have before mentioned. His family was of the first nobility of the city: and the influence and power of his connexions rendered the Catholics

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 152.
[2] Le Quien, ii. 717.
[3] Ep. ad Serg.
[4] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 154. Makrizi calls him (§ 305,) Adraston.
* Le Quien, ii. 446.

unwilling to banish him, as they had done his predecessors, from Alexandria. He therefore spent the whole time of his episcopate within the precincts of the city.

Charity of S. John.

In the meantime the alms of S. John were unabated. He every day fed seven thousand five hundred of the poor: he sent to Modestus at Jerusalem, two thousand sacks of wheat and pulse, a thousand tubs of dried fish, a thousand skins of wine, a thousand pounds of iron, a thousand pieces of gold, and a thousand Egyptian workmen. All these were intended as contributions to the re-establishment of the Holy City: and in the letter which accompanied them, the Patriarch bewailed his inability to send anything worthy of his SAVIOUR, and to go in person to work at the church of the Resurrection.

His love of justice was as conspicuous as his charity. The commercial frauds practised in Alexandria, the mart of the world, were very great. He endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to put a stop to the use of false weights and measures; and published an edict, confiscating, to the good of the poor, all the goods of those who should continue to employ them: so extensive was the temporal authority of the Chair of S. Mark. He was informed, that the persons into whose hands he had put the money to be laid out in the redemption of captives, were in the habit of receiving bribes to determine the objects whom they should first ransom. He called them together, and without any reproaches for the past, forbade them in future to receive money for such a purpose, at the same time increasing the salaries which he allowed them, in order to lessen their temptation. Some were so much touched by this act of generosity, as voluntarily to decline the augmentation of their stipend.

Finding that the complaints of the poor and oppressed did not, through the partiality or negligence of his officers, reach him as they ought, he determined on giving a public audience to all applicants twice a week. The days he appointed were Wednesday and Friday: and on these occasions a seat was placed for him at the door of the Cæsarea, while some of the principal men of the city were arranged on each side of him. He held the Book of the Gospels in his hands: and when no business was going forward, he would occupy himself by conversation with his assessors. It was his maxim always to dispatch any complaint

which might be addressed to him, on the spot: "how," he asked, "can we expect that GOD will hear us readily, if we do not pay immediate attention to the requests of our brethren?" On one occasion, he waited till almost mid-day, without having the opportunity of redressing any wrong. On leaving the tribunal, he was observed to shed tears: and the reason being inquired, he replied, "It is because I have to-day nothing to offer to my SAVIOUR for the remission of my sins." It was remarked by the inquirer, that rather he should rejoice in having so pacified his flock, that they dwelt together without giving or receiving cause of complaint.

During the time allotted to his meals, some passage of Scripture was illustrated, some dogma bearing on the heresies of the times discussed, or the life of some Saint read: among the last, S. John heard with the greatest pleasure the histories of those who had been eminent for the grace of almsgiving. He frequently exhorted his people to avoid the Communion of heretics, even should they be compelled, in the absence of a Catholic Priest, to depart without the Viaticum. The manner in which he instructed his flock was sometimes peculiar. During the office of the Eucharist, he found that many were in the habit of leaving the Church at the conclusion of the Gospel. He took the opportunity, on one occasion, of accompanying them. They expressed great surprise at so unwonted a thing: but the Patriarch calmly replied, "My sons, where the sheep are, there the shepherd ought to be. It is for your sakes that I go to the church: for my own part, I could celebrate the office at home." Persisting in this course twice, he corrected the practice. Anecdotes of his life.

Though S. John had never been a monk, he held the monastic system in the greatest reverence; and was the more profuse in his liberality to different monasteries, as if to balance the neglect which his earlier life seemed to have manifested. His own manner of life, however, was quite in accordance with the discipline of an Abbey: his fare was poor and simple, and the couch on which he slept small, and such as an artizan only would have employed. A rich friend, knowing this, purchased a magnificent bed, of which he requested the Patriarch's acceptance. S. John, unwilling to hurt the feelings of the donor, complied: but after using it for one night, he declared that it hindered his

sleep, by seeming to reproach him with slothfulness and luxury, while so many poor were lying in cold and misery. He therefore sent it to be sold; dividing the proceeds in charity. The original giver repurchased the bed, and again presented it to the Patriarch. The same thing took place three times: S. John declaring that it should be seen that he was not the first to give over.

The Patriarch was happy in the confidants on whom he placed most dependence. One of these was John Moschus, celebrated for his treatise entitled, *The Spiritual Meadow*: the other Sophronius, who is reckoned among the Saints. They were Syrians by birth: had embraced the monastic life in Palestine; and were first dispatched into Egypt by their Abbat, on business connected with their house. The accounts which Moschus has preserved, shew that the monastic system was still most flourishing in Egypt.

In the meantime the victorious Persians approached daily nearer to Egypt: and S. John, finding that Alexandria must fall into their hands, resolved on retiring to his native island of Cyprus. What were the circumstances which justified his thus leaving his flock exposed to the fury of a Pagan enemy, we do not learn; but his eminent sanctity may convince us that he was doing his duty, and a further proof is to be found in the fact, that his biographer has not considered it necessary to apologize for this, the last action of his life.

He leaves Alexandria.

A.D. 620.

He therefore sailed, in company with his friend Nicetas, a man of worth and of patrician rank, for Cyprus. Nicetas, unwilling that he should be lost to the world, prevailed on him to pay a visit to the Emperor Heraclius, at Constantinople. S. John consented: and advanced as far as Rhodes on his way to the Imperial City. There, however, he was warned in a dream that his own end was approaching, and in consequence he resolved on returning to his native land. "You call me," said he to Nicetas, "to the Emperor of the Earth: but the KING of Kings summons me elsewhere." Leaving his friend to pursue his journey alone, he himself returned to Amathus. There he drew up his will: in which he thanked GOD for having permitted him to distribute the vast sums which had been, at his accession, in the treasury of his Church; so that hardly any

money was now to be found in it, in spite of the donations which it had received from the liberality of the faithful. Dying shortly afterwards, he was buried in the Church of S. Tychon, at Amathus. This Saint had been a former Bishop of the See, held in great veneration for his sanctity, and surnamed, from his numerous miracles, the Wonder-worker. His feast is still observed with great solemnity in the island of Cyprus.[1] In this Church the body of S. John the Almoner rested for some time: thence it was translated, at an uncertain epoch, to Constantinople; thence to Buda, about 1460, and to Posen, in 1530: in 1632 it was interred in a magnificent shrine by George Drascowitz, Bishop of the Five Churches.[2] As the day of his decease is occupied in the Oriental Church by the Feast of S. Mennas, by that of S. Martin in the Latin, the former commemorate him, on the morrow of his departure, the latter on the twenty-third of January, which was probably the day on which his remains arrived at Constantinople. It is a curious fact that he is also commemorated by the Jacobites.[3] From S. John the Almoner the famous order of the Hospitallers, in the first instance, derived its name.

His death, Nov. 11, 620, and translation.

We now approach the time when, in relating the History of the True Church at Alexandria, we are deserted entirely by the ordinary Ecclesiastical Historians.[4] We have little for many centuries, but some lists of names, and catalogues of dates, which vary as much from each other, as all differ from truth. Of the Jacobite succession, indeed, we have full and authentic accounts from Severus and his continuers: and to these we shall often be forced to confine ourselves. The orthodox Patriarchs we must be content to receive from the inaccurate annals of

Obscurity of the subsequent history.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 1063.

[2] See his account in a letter to Cardinal Pazmany: Bolland. January 2, 581.

[3] On May 3, and also on Nov. 12. However this singular circumstance be explained, it is an undoubted fact. ዮሐንስ: ዐሠሪ፤ appears in the calendar. Le Quien believes the fame of S. John's good deeds to have been such that his very adversaries were forced to acknowledge his holiness. But this does not seem in accordance with Jacobite principles; and we would rather conclude with Renaudot, that Ethiopia was temporarily or partially at the time of S. John, in the fold of the Church. We confess, however, that on this hypothesis the omission of S. Eulogius in their calendar appears strange.

[4] Phot. Cod. 36. Eutych. ii. 267. Le Quien, ii. 447.

Eutychius, whose comparative value we then only learn, when his history, terminating in his own elevation to the chair of S. Mark, leaves us in midnight darkness.

SECTION IX.

RISE OF THE MONOTHELITE HERESY.

Alexandria taken by Cosroes.

The See of Alexandria probably remained vacant for some time, as in the same year with the death of S. John, the Persians took the city. Ravaging the whole of Egypt, they extended their conquests to the borders of Ethiopia, and the country was reduced to a deplorable state of misery. Heraclius, finding that if he did not exert himself to oppose the invaders, he should soon be reduced to the empty shadow of an empire, (if indeed he were not deprived of that also, for the general of Cosroes had already appeared before Chalcedon, and been visible from Constantinople,) determined on marching into Asia. His arms, during several successive campaigns, were constantly blessed with success; and Cosroes was, in time, obliged to concentrate his forces for the defence of his own kingdom, and in the eighth year of his misfortunes, perished miserably by the orders of his own son.

Victories of Heraclius.

George, Patr. XXXVI. circa A.D. 621.* A.M. 337.

Left thus in peace, the Alexandrians were at liberty to proceed to the election of a Patriarch. The choice of the Catholics fell upon George, of whom we know little more than that he was the author of the life of S. Chrysostom, principally extracted from the dialogue of Palladius, but intermingled with several fables.[1] The Jacobites chose Benjamin, whom the subsequent

[1] Jean eut George pour successeur: mais, depuis son temps, on ne connait gueres l'histoire de cette Eglise, says Fleury, viii. 250. It is not well done of Sollerius to deny the title of Catholic to the successors of S. John. Of Benjamin he says, "huic oppositi Patriarchæ tres *Anti-Jacobitæ* sub Heraclio." p. 73*.

* The Bollandists place this event more than three years earlier. Gibbon agrees with them: (viii. 222). But Le Quien's chain of reasoning seems so strong on the other side, (iii. 250,) that we have, though not undoubtedly followed him.

events which we shall presently have to relate, have invested with a degree of importance superior to any of his predecessors. He was born of rich parents, and embraced the monastic life at Dir Kyrios, the only monastery in the Eastern part of Egypt which had escaped the ravages of the Persians. Here he distinguished himself by his austerities and long continuance in prayer, and was considered as one of the most eminent persons, while yet a young man, among his party. Introduced to the Patriarch Andronicus, he was favourably noticed, and retained in Alexandria by him, and finally became his successor. Of the government of George we know nothing: it is probable that he found sufficient employment in repairing the mischief which the ravages of the Persians had occasioned. *Benjamin, Patr. xxxviii.* A.D. 620.

In the last years of his life a new and subtle heresy sprung up in the East. Theodore, an Arabian Bishop, who had hitherto been accounted orthodox, and who professed to the last his agreement with the Faith of Chalcedon, began to teach, that although it was necessary to a right faith to recognize Two Natures in the One Person of our SAVIOUR, yet nevertheless His Unity of Person entailed, as a necessary consequence, His Unity of Will and Operation. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, predisposed by an early Jacobite education to this new doctrine, gladly embraced it, and endeavoured to the utmost of his ability, to propagate it among his suffragans. Thus these sentiments gradually extended themselves, but meeting with no decided opposition, except from Arcadius, Archbishop of Cyprus, their progress was quiet, until an unexpected occurrence brought them prominently before the Church. Rise of Monothelitism.

Heraclius, in the course of his Persian war, being at Hierapolis, in Upper Syria, was visited by Athanasius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and the same who had previously been at Alexandria. The conversation naturally turned on the doctrine in dispute between the Church, and the sect of the visitor: and the Emperor, pleased by his behaviour, and amused by his talk, promised to raise him to the Throne of Antioch, if he would embrace the Creed of Chalcedon. Athanasius, who was, as was the general character of the Syrians, a man of deep artifice, and whose malignity against the True Faith procured him the title, by a paronomasia on his name which cannot be preserved in A.D. 629.

English,[1] of Immortal Death,[2] professed to embrace the offer. "And in this case," he inquired of the Emperor, "will it be proper to confess One Will and Operation in Our LORD, or Two?" Heraclius, who was more of a soldier than a theologian, could not reply; and found it necessary to write to Constantinople, in order that Sergius might explain to him the Doctrine of the Church on this subject. Sergius replied, that beyond all question, the Catholic Doctrine was perfectly clear: and that it asserted only One Will in our Blessed LORD. Heraclius, hearing that Cyrus, Bishop of the Lazi, or Phasis, possessed great reputation for learning, summoned him to his presence, and requested his opinion on the point in question. Cyrus asserted the truth of the doctrine of Sergius, which was that to which Heraclius had now become firmly wedded. This union of sentiment, and the general behaviour of Cyrus, rendered him so acceptable to the Emperor, that he was by the Imperial authority translated to the vacant See of Alexandria.[3]

Cyrus, Patr. XXXVII. A.D. 630. A.M. 346.

Cyrus lost no time in repairing to that city: and set himself vigorously to effect an union with the Jacobites. He found the task easy: the Monophysites were perfectly aware, that if one operation only were allowed in the SAVIOUR, the definition of the Council of Chalcedon was virtually abrogated; and openly professed, that the Melchites were coming over to themselves,—not they to the Melchites. Cyrus, however, not alarmed by the suspicious facility with which his scheme of reconciliation was accepted by the hereties, continued to press it; and an act of reunion was agreed on between the Catholic Church, and by far the greater number of the Jacobites. It contained nine articles, of which eight were perfectly sound; but the seventh affirmed, that it was the same will which produced the Divine and Human actions of our LORD, and that, in the phrase of S. Dionysius, by a Theandric operation; that is, an operation in

Council of Alexandria.

[1] Ep. ad Serg.

[2] Antioch. Monach. Hom. CXXX.

[3] Theophanes, s. a. Makrizi is unusually incorrect, § 289: making the See of Alexandria remain vacant seven years after the death of S. John; and Eutychius is also inaccurate, in making George to have left his See on account of the approaching Saracens, and Cyrus to have been only a Monothelite intruder. (p. 267.) In the Chron. Alexandrinum we are informed that, in the year 609, a Pope of Alexandria, (whether Jacobite or Catholic we are not told,) was slain by his enemies. This seems false.

which God and Man jointly, and as it were confusedly, acted. Sophronius, the friend and favourite disciple of S. John the Almoner, was requested by Cyrus to examine the articles: and having done so, he threw himself at the feet of the Patriarch, requesting and conjuring him, even with tears, not to publish them, because they were undoubtedly contrary to the Catholic Faith, and were imbued with the Apollinarian heresy. Cyrus paid no attention to these representations; and in the spring of 633, the act of reunion was formally accepted by both parties. The Theodosians, among whom appear to have been the principal personages of the city, solemnly communicated with the Patriarch in the Cæsarea. It would appear that such as still refused Communion with Cyrus were severely dealt with, both by him and the Prefect: of this number was Benjamin, who for the sake of his personal safety, was compelled to retire into a small monastery in the Upper Thebais. Sergius of Constantinople received with joy the news of this union, in spite of the remonstrances of Sophronius, who had left Alexandria at the same time with the letters of Cyrus, which announced it. Sophronius finding his protest disregarded, returned into the East, where he was shortly afterwards, and against his will, elected to the Patriarchal Chair of Jerusalem.

False union with the Jacobites.

BOOK IV.

FROM

THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE SARACENS

A.D. 640,

TO THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN AS VIZIR,

A.D. 1168.

Tibi nunc, O Æterne Deus, gratias tantas, quantas mentes nostræ capiunt, agimus, quod tenebras illas clarissimo verbi Tui fulgore a limitibus nostris clementer eripuisti. Da, quæsumus, ut miseri isti homines tot tandem figmentorum, deliramentorum, et bruti illius stuporis pertæsi, unum Te quærant, quæsitum inveniant, inventum nobiscum perpetuis præconiis laudent et celebrent.

Hottinger.

SECTION I.

RISE OF MAHOMETANISM.

In the meantime it pleased God to raise up, as a punishment for the sins of His Church, a more fearful adversary to her doctrine, and a more cruel oppressor of her children, than any with whom she had yet been called to contend. Mahomet had already proclaimed his mission in Arabia, and the Church of Alexandria, ill-recovered from the invasion of Cosroes, was about to endure a more severe and a more lasting tyranny.

Rise of Mahometanism.

Born at Mecca, and descended from a family which pretended to trace their connexion with Kedar, the eldest son of Ishmael, Mahomet lost his father Abdallah, at the age of two years. A rich uncle educated him, and prepared him for that traffic which was the principal occupation of the inhabitants of his native city. Employed as the agent of Cadijah, a rich widow, he obtained her affection, and notwithstanding the disparity of their years, received, at the age of twenty-five, her hand. For the fifteen subsequent years he was anything rather than a prophet: at the end of that time he declared himself, to his own family, a prophet sent for the reformation of mankind, and the re-establishment of religion. In four years he only gained nine converts; and relying on the fidelity of his adherents, and the fertility of his genius, although he could neither write nor read, he then began a public profession of his pretended authority.

State of Arabia.

The state more especially of that part of Arabia, was at this time highly favourable to the spread of any false doctrine. There was, it is true, an Episcopal See at Nagra, which we have already mentioned; but the efforts of its Bishops for extending the Faith would seem to have been small; and they considered themselves connected rather with the Ethiopians, from whom they were only separated by the Red Sea, than with their neighbours the Arabians. There were, however, many Episcopal Sees on the borders of Arabia, towards Persia and Syria, and there was a considerable sprinkling of Jews throughout the country.

Of the remaining inhabitants, many were idolaters; some followed the doctrine of the Magi, and worshipped fire; and a very large proportion held the creed of the ancient Sabæans, and adored the stars and the Heavenly Intelligences. Thus, a religion promulgated with authority, and adapted in some measure to the prejudices of the differing sects to whom it was addressed, would, *à priori*, have been likely to make some progress in Arabia: that it should pervert the third part of the world was one of those events which no human wisdom could have considered within the range of probability.

That Mahomet was not the enthusiast which some semi-infidel or latitudinarian authors have considered him, is evident from the ingenuity with which, while he panders to the passions of his followers, he also infuses into his religion so much of each of those tenets to which the varying sects of his countrymen were addicted, as to enable each and all to please themselves by the belief that the new doctrine was only a reform of, and improvement on, that to which they had been accustomed. The Christians were conciliated by the acknowledgment of our LORD as the Greatest of Prophets; the Jews, by the respectful mention of Moses and their other Lawgivers; the idolaters, by the veneration which the Impostor professed for the Temple of Mecca, and the black stone which it contained; and the Chaldeans, by the pre-eminence which he gives to the ministrations of the Angel Gabriel, and his whole scheme of the Seven Heavens.[1] To a people devoted to the gratification of their passions and addicted to Oriental luxury, he appealed, not unsuccessfully, by the promise of a Paradise whose sensual delights were unbounded, and the permission of a free exercise of pleasures in this world. To allow that there was some truth intermingled with his falsehood, is only to allow Mahomet sufficient knowledge of mankind to be aware that a system, neither based upon one true, nor supported by one generous principle, would be sure, in a few years, to come to an end. Thus, his inculcation of an entire submission to the Will of GOD is the salt which has for so long a series of years preserved from decay the imposture of which Mahomet was the author.

[1] See Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 152, *seq.*

During the Monothelite controversy, the arms of the Mussulmans were making rapid way towards Constantinople. After the Hegira, the power of Mahomet augmented by gigantic strides: the ten years which he survived it rendered him sufficiently formidable; and if the short reign of his immediate successor, Abubekir, did little beyond consolidating the foundations of the new empire, Omar, the second Caliph, lost no time in extending the conquests of the Arabians. The Persian empire tottered to its fall; and the Roman cities in Syria fell one by one. Already was Damascus threatened: and Heraclius, finding resistance vain, prepared to retire to Constantinople.

July 16, 622.

Abubekir, Caliph.

Omar, Caliph.

It is the common cry of worldly-minded historians, that, unmoved by the impending danger, the Eastern Christians continued their verbal disputes on abstruse mysteries, till orthodox and heretic were alike swept away in the flood of destruction. It would be more fair to admire the courage of those, who, fully aware of the fate in store for them, could nevertheless persist in defending what they felt to be an essential portion of Catholic Truth. And this remark applies more particularly to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem, whom GOD at this time raised up to be the Athanasius or Cyril of the Monothelite heresy. That he calculated the danger at its true amount is evident by the sermons which he preached to his flock, exhorting them to repent now at least, in this season of peril and distress, and by the manner in which he requests the prayers of Sergius of Constantinople, that it might please GOD to give the Emperor victory over the Saracens. But he, as well by his synodal letter as by a special embassy to Rome, endeavoured to procure the decision of Pope Honorius in his favour, and to bring back Sergius to the Faith; but in vain. The sentiments of the latter remained unchanged; and Honorius persisted in his first resolution of forbidding the assertion of either one or two operations. It is remarkable that at this time, Jerusalem alone, of the Patriarchal Thrones, upheld the orthodox doctrine; and, which never happened at any other period of Ecclesiastical History, the three Chairs founded by S. Peter were infected with, or at least countenanced, heresy: Honorius was so far guilty of it, as to be condemned, after his death, by the Sixth Œcumenical Council; Cyrus of Alexandria was an active Monothelite; and the only Patriarch of Antioch was

Monothelite controversy.

Athanasius the Jacobite. S. Sophronius did not live to see the result of the controversy, though he survived seven years the
A.D. 637.* surrender of Jerusalem to Omar, after a siege of twenty-four months. Antioch having next fallen into the power of the Mussulmans, they were at full leisure to attempt the conquest of Egypt.

In the meanwhile, Sergius prevailed on the Emperor Heraclius to publish his celebrated edict, commonly known by the name of
Ecthesis of Heraclius. the Ecthesis, or Exposition. After an orthodox statement of faith so far as respects the HOLY TRINITY, the Incarnation, the One Person and Two Natures of our Blessed LORD, it proceeded to forbid the teaching of either one or two operations: the former, as appearing to destroy the doctrine of the Two Natures; the latter, as an expression entirely new to Theology, appearing to imply two contrary wills, and leading to results more dangerous than even the tenets of Nestorius. At the same time, it was clearly and positively asserted that the Catholic Faith required the acknowledgment of only one Will. The Ecthesis differed in language from the Articles of Reconciliation adopted by Cyrus; but as the variation was rather verbal than real, he gladly adopted it. In the letter which he sent to Sergius on the occasion, he expresses his sense of the clearness and orthodoxy of the document in question: he asserts that he had perused it, not once or twice only, but many times; that both he and those who had heard it had been struck with its beauty, and that he had returned thanks to GOD for giving himself and the Church so prudent a guide. A Patriarch of Alexandria would not, in the times of the glory of that See, have thus allowed himself to address the inferior Throne of Constantinople. His letter ends with a prayer, that GOD Who had already delivered them from the tyranny of Phocas, and the pride of the Persians, would also deliver them from the insolence of the Saracens.

A.D. 639. In the meantime, the Mussulmans pursued their conquests with rapidity. Omar, the Caliph, had entrusted the command of the Egyptian expedition to Amru-ben-ulaz. Cyrus, however, on promise of a tribute, prevailed on the Infidel to retreat; but the terms were rejected by Manuel, then Augustal Præfect. Amru continued his victories in Syria, and was then about to re-

* Our reasons for this date, and that of the decease of Sophronius, may be seen in Le Quien, tom. iii. p. 278, *seq.*

turn into Egypt, when he received sealed orders from Omar, by the hand of a confidential messenger. "Of what tenor are they?" he inquired naturally, before perusing them. "They desire you," replied the messenger, "if you are in Egypt on receiving the letter, to prosecute your design on that country; if not, to desist from it." "Keep the letters by you," answered the General; and immediately marched towards Egypt. As soon as he reached El-Arish, the first town in Africa, he halted, called for the dispatches, read them, and with great appearance of interest, demanded whether he were in Egypt. Answer being made in the affirmative,—"Then," said he, "we are directed by Omar to attempt its conquest." Egypt invaded.

The Roman forces were under the orders of Marianus.[1] Cyrus advised him not to stake his success on an engagement, but rather to persuade the Emperor to compound for the safety of Egypt by the payment of a tribute, and to offer to betroth either his daughter Eudocia, or some other of the Royal Family, to the Caliph, "whom," said the Patriarch, "she would doubtless convert." Marianus rejected the advice, and marched to the relief of Memphis, which Amru was then besieging. The Romans were defeated in three pitched battles, and the city surrendered, stipulating for safety of life and property on the payment of a tribute, through the intervention of the Jacobite Mokaukas, who had concealed his religion to obtain the government of the province. In consequence of the advice given by Cyrus, he was accused to the Emperor of strengthening the hands of the barbarians, and forthwith summoned to Constantinople. Heraclius heaped insults on his head, terming him a Pagan and the enemy of God, being irritated at the proposal made by him with respect to Eudocia. His life was even threatened, and what preserved him, it is not easy to say. It was probably the news of the further success of the Saracens: possibly, information of the commencement of the siege of Alexandria. Cyrus was dismissed with power to treat with Amru, and to offer the annual tribute, if he would retreat from Egypt; but he arrived too late.[2]

[1] Makrizi, § 314, *seq.* Eutych. p. 308, *seq.* Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 162. Theophanes, ad ann. Heracl. 25. Sollerius, p. 72*. Elmacin. p 24. Gibbon, ix. 429, whose account is equally brilliant and unfair.

[2] Pagi, 640, vii., thinks that Cyrus was deposed by Heraclius, and restored the following year by Heracleonas.

Capture of Alexandria, Dec. 21 or 28, A.D. 640.*

Amru was prosecuting the siege of Alexandria with vigour: it lasted fourteen months; at the end of which time it capitulated, and Egypt fell thus under the power of the Saracens. The walls were levelled, and many of the churches burnt; among which was that of S. Mark, in which the relics of the Evangelist reposed. While the fate of the library was undecided, a Jacobite, John, surnamed the Grammarian, esteemed among both Christians and Mussulmans for his learning, demanded it for himself. Amru replied, that he must know the Caliph's pleasure before he could reply. Omar returned for answer, says the often repeated but uncertain story of Abulpharaj, that if the books in question were in accordance with the Koran, they were superfluous; if in opposition to it, pernicious: in either case, to be destroyed. The four thousand baths of Alexandria were supplied by them with fuel for six months.

With the arrival of the Saracens, the Jacobites became, in a certain sense, the Christian Establishment of Egypt. It is true, they were sometimes exposed to persecution; but they always retained a degree of consequence and reputation; and in the eyes of the Mussulmans, the Jacobite Patriarch was *the* Patriarch of Alexandria. It is not difficult to account for this state of affairs. The Jacobites were, in the first place, by far the more numerous body: if we may believe Makrizi, the number of the Melchites did not amount to four hundred thousand.

Furthermore, from the circumstance that the Catholic Faith was the Faith of the State, all the civil governors and officers in the army, all, in short, who had offered any opposition to the Mahometans, were orthodox in their Creed:—a circumstance not calculated to procure it much favour in the eyes of the conquerors. Again, the Jacobites had suffered so severely from the Emperors of Constantinople, that, for the most part, they welcomed with open arms a change of dynasty; and thus procured favour in the eyes of their new masters. It may also be remarked, that the Melchites were for the most part Greeks, or of Greek extraction: the Jacobites native Egyptians. The Mussulmans therefore could not but regard the former as the immediate dependants on their great enemy, the Emperor of Constantinople.

* Sollerius, in his *Parergon* iii., seems to have established this date in opposition to the more commonly received one, 641.

Greek usages were beginning among them to supersede, as they afterwards did in a far more engrossing manner, national rites; and the circumstance that, however much in defiance of the Canons, the Catholic Patriarch was now usually consecrated in the Imperial City, would render him an object of suspicion to the Saracens.

To all this, we may add two further considerations. The one, that the natural tendency of error is to unite with error; the other, that the Catholic Church could not have been surprised in a more inopportune hour. The Master came; but she was not prepared. Her chief pastor was a heretic; and the sympathy and communion of the rest of Christendom, which might have supported and cheered her, were withheld or wanting.

Benjamin well received by Amru.

One of the first acts of Amru was to give Benjamin a letter of safety, conceived in the following terms:—"Let every place, wherein Benjamin, Patriarch of the Coptic Christians, may be, possess full security, peace, and trust from God: let him come with safety and fearlessness, and freely administer the affairs of his Church and people.[1]" Benjamin availed himself of the concession, and returned to Alexandria, where he was received with great joy: he had an audience of Amru, who asserted that he had never seen one possessed of a more august aspect, or more resembling a Man of God. About this time, but the exact year is not certain, Cyrus departed this life.[2]

Peter II., Patr. XXXVIII. A.D. 643. A.M. 359.

The reader will bear in mind, that, from henceforth, our guides must principally be annalists infected with the Jacobite heresy. It is easy to guard against one of the inconveniences thence arising, that, namely, of the prejudice with which they view every event connected with their own, or with the Catholic Patriarchs; but we have to deplore unavailingly the very slight accounts which they give us of the true Egyptian Church, while dwelling at sufficient length on the achievements or reverses of their own sect. Of Peter we know hardly anything more than that he was a Monothelite. The precise date of his election is not known, nor indeed is it absolutely clear whether it were before or after the capture of Alexandria; but it is certain that Peter, as soon as he found Egypt irrecoverably in the power of the Saracens, retired to Constantinople.[3]

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, pp. 163, 164. [2] Le Quien, ii, 450. [3] Ibid.

The flight of Peter, and return of Benjamin to Alexandria, was the signal for a general defection from the Faith of Chalcedon: many who had professed it under Heraclius, either allured by the hope of reward, or terrified with the fear of punishment, now apostatized: others who had fled into Pentapolis, or various parts of Africa, returned to swell the ranks of the victorious sect. There were not, however, wanting those who remained firm in the orthodox belief. Benjamin was indefatigable in collecting the scattered members of his communion; in refounding monasteries and nunneries, and in reforming the corrupted morals of his flock. The lamentable confusion of things was increased by a severe famine, followed by a great mortality.[1]

The See of Axum being at this time vacant, it was filled by Benjamin with Cyril,[2] one of his own partisans. It appears that the monastic life had not, until now, been introduced into Ethiopia: its first originator, by name Teklahaimanot,[3] is said to have been dispatched thither by Benjamin, and the name of this Monk is not only to this day illustrious in Ethiopia, but various extraordinary fables were propagated with respect to him in Europe. He may almost be considered the national Saint of the Ethiopians; and is thrice commemorated in their Calendar. Doubtless through all the fables which embellish his life, we may clearly see that he must have been a man of prodigious influence and reputation, and the "sons of Teklahaimanot" are as famous in the Ethiopic as the Benedictines in the Western Church. Till the occupation of Ethiopia by the Portuguese Missionaries, it was usually believed that he lived before the Monophysite heresy, and was perhaps a disciple of S. Antony, or of one of S. Antony's followers. But it is now clear that he was a Jacobite: and there is no reason why we should not receive the Ethiopic tradition, that he was ordained Deacon by "Amba" Cyril at the age of fifteen.[4]

Influence of Teklahaimanot.

Benjamin, finding himself unequal, from the advance of years, to take any active concern in the affairs of his Patriarchate, committed its more laborious concerns to Agatho, one of his

[1] Elmacinus, p. 24.
[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 170.
[3] Tellez, Hist. da Companhia de Jesus, i. 33. Renaudot, p. 171.
[4] Le Quien, ii. 647. Ludolf. Comment, p. 436.

Priests, and his successor. This man had been indefatigable, during the reign of Heraclius, in encouraging and exhorting the Alexandrian Monophysites, going from house to house in a disguise, for the purpose of avoiding the observation of the Orthodox.[1]

One of the last acts which distinguished the life of Benjamin, was the consecration of the church of S. Macarius: a ceremony which must have been considered at the time of no small import, inasmuch as it forms a subject of commemoration in the Coptic Calendar.[2] During the Episcopate of Benjamin, either weary of the errors of Jacobitism, into which they appear to have fallen after the death of Gregentius, or unable to obtain easy access to Alexandria, the Homeritæ embraced the opposite heresy of Nestorianism, and submitted themselves to the Catholic of Seleucia, Jesuiab II.[3]

SECTION II.

THE SEE VACANT.

On the death of Peter, the Catholics were left without a Pastor for the long space of more than seventy years; and this was the most fatal blow that has ever been inflicted on the Alexandrian Church, and the cause of its having sunk into its present insignificance. See vacant, A.D. 654. A.M. 370.

The state of Egypt in the meantime was most deplorable. During the early years of Mahometan power, the Caliph, as supreme Vicar of the Prophet, was regarded as the Lord of all the Mussulman conquests: but, as it was impossible that he should attend personally to such large tracts of country, he had his Governor or Emir in each, removable indeed at his pleasure, but possessing, while in office, little less than absolute authority. Ill administration, if it produced complaints from the wretched in-

[1] Severus, ap. Renaud. p. 165.

[2] Jan. 13. The account of this solemnity, given by Severus, is or professes to be from the pen of Agatho, the successor of Benjamin. The Canons then said to have been promulgated, are evidently of late date. Renaudot, 165.

[3] Le Quien, ii. 663. Asseman, B.O. ii 416.

habitants of the conquered regions, was easily overlooked by the Caliph on consideration of a bribe; a bribe also might procure the recall of the Governor, and the substitution of a more wealthy or more liberal candidate. To supply the requisite sum, both in the one and in the other case, the wealth of the Christians was the more heavily taxed, and as Egypt, on account of its riches, was regarded as a peculiarly desirable prize, its Emirs were the more frequently changed, and the condition of its inhabitants the more miserable. At the same time, their lives were perfectly secure: it was the express injunction of Mahomet, that they who were willing to pay tribute should be no further molested. The Bishops, Priests, Abbats, and other dignitaries of the hierarchy were regarded with a certain degree of consideration by their Mahometan conquerors; and justice, in a certain sense, was dealt forth to them. Amru, misinformed as to the Christian Faith, naturally prejudiced against the Melchites, and assured by the Jacobites that themselves were the legitimate successors of S. Cyril, can hardly be blamed for having believed their assertions; when the Melchites, as the course of the history will shew, made good their claim to the same character, they obtained in some degree a restitution of their rights.

Spread and decline of Monothelitism.

It will be proper, for a few moments, to glance at the state of the rest of the Church, so far as respects the Monothelite heresy. It still continued to rule in the Church of Constantinople. Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius, was an inveterate upholder of the doctrine: and he, having renounced the Chair in disgust, was succeeded by Paul, also a determined Monothelite. Notwithstanding the lapse of Pope Honorius, the See of Rome remained pure from the infection; John IV., though excusing his predecessor on the ground that he simply condemned the assertion of two contrary Wills in CHRIST, condemned Monothelitism. Theodore, who followed him in the Chair of S. Peter, openly rejected the Ecthesis, in a letter addressed to Paul: and the Church of Jerusalem, and that of Africa, importuned the Pope to resist any innovation on the faith. S. Maximus, a native of Constantinople, and not more distinguished for his deep piety, than for his acute powers of argument, was the man whom GOD was pleased to choose at this period, as the great defender of His Truth. Abbat of Chrysopolis, near Chalcedon,

he found his situation unsafe from the attacks of the barbarians, (by whom it is more likely that the Persians are meant than the Saracens,) and sought refuge in Africa. Pyrrhus, on leaving Constantinople, betook himself to the same province: and Gregory, its governor, conceived the idea of contriving a disputation between the two champions of their respective parties. Pyrrhus exerted his utmost powers: but was finally compelled to own, that the assertion of either One Will, or a Composed Will, could not be maintained, and that to forbid the expression of either A.D. 645. One or Two Wills was irrational and uncatholic. He passed, after the conference, to Rome, where he retracted his error, although he afterwards relapsed.

As the Ecthesis continued to give universal dissatisfaction, Paul persuaded the Emperor Constans to replace it by a new edict commonly known by the name of the Type, or Formulary: in which it was forbidden, for the future, to dispute on the subject in question. One of the last acts of Theodore's life, was the deposition of both Paul and Pyrrhus. The succeeding Pope, S. Martin, was honoured by being permitted to suffer for the Truth. Encouraged by S. Maximus, then at Rome, he assembled a Council of more than one hundred Italian and African Bishops, in the church of S. Saviour Lateran, better known by its later name of S. John Lateran, where, in the Fifth Session, twenty Canons were passed, condemning the heresy of the Monothelites, the Ecthesis, the Type, Cyrus of Alexandria, Ser- A.D. 649. gius, Paul, and Pyrrhus of Constantinople. The letter announcing this decree was addressed to the Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, in which, among other heretics, they were guarded against Peter of Alexandria, who was yet living.

Constans was indignant at the rejection of his Type. Martin was seized in Rome by the exarch Calliopa, imprisoned on board a vessel, conducted by a tedious voyage of three months to Constantinople, imprisoned, interrogated, insulted, tortured, and finally banished to Chersonnesus: where, wearied out with privations, and ill treatment, he departed to his reward, after an A.D. 655. exile of nearly six months. S. Maximus, after enduring many sufferings, was exiled, recalled, scourged, deprived of his tongue, and re-exiled, into the country of the Lazi, whither he was on his way, when called to his rest. S. Martin is by the Latin A.D. 662.

Church reckoned among the Martyrs; by the Greek, among the Confessors.

Agatho, Patr. xxxix. A.D. 659.

On the death of Benjamin, Agatho, of whose labours in the cause of his sect we have already spoken, was chosen his successor. He was particularly successful in uniting to the Jacobites the remains of the Gaianites and Barsanuphians, who up to this time existed in some numbers.[1] But the days of this Patriarch were not tranquil. Theodosius, a Catholic, obtained from the reigning Caliph Yezid very extensive power over all the Christians of Alexandria, Mareotis, and the neighbouring country: and strengthened by this grant, extorted a considerable tribute from Agatho, besides extraordinary contributions. Agatho, unwilling or unable to supply the latter, confined himself to his own house; and Theodosius gave orders that if he appeared beyond its precincts, he should be stoned.

A story is related of this Patriarch, which, if it proves nothing else, proves how tenacious were the Alexandrian Christians, even in the time of their depression, of the ancient Canons. Informed by revelation that John Semnudæus was to be his successor, Agatho would not permit him to be consecrated Bishop of any other place, lest his succession to Alexandria should thereby be prevented. Translations had, by this time, become common matters in other parts of the Church.[2]

John IV. Semnudæus, Patr. xl. A.D. 677.

Agatho was succeeded by John Semnudæus, or John of Sebennytus,—that city being afterwards called Semnud,—though not, it would appear, without some opposition. Theodosius, on the death of the former Patriarch, affixed his seal on all the goods contained in the Episcopal residence, so that the domestics of Agatho had not, on that day, the necessary materials for one meal. Abdel-Aziz was now Governor of Egypt: a man, it would appear, not naturally indisposed to the Jacobites: for he at once redressed the injury of which they complained as having been inflicted by Theodosius. But on the entrance of the Governor on his province, it happened that John, through a mistake, did not pay him the customary compliments: on which a brother-in-law of Theodosius, who was now dead, took the opportunity of informing Abdel-Aziz, that the Patriarch John had amassed a con-

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 173. [2] Severus, *ubi supra.*

siderable sum of money, and exhibited, in his ordinary behaviour, the most intolerable pride. The Governor forthwith summoned John, and insisted on his paying into the public treasury a hundred thousand pieces of gold: and the more speedily to procure the money, he gave him into the charge of one of his officers, of harsh disposition and barbarous manners. John protested that he had not a hundred drachmæ in his possession: his keeper applied a vessel of hot coals to his feet in the hope of eliciting a different confession, but in vain. The sudden illness of the wife of Abdel-Aziz terrified the latter: and he changed his menaces into persuasions. But, these being equally unsuccessful, he threatened John to expose him, in the dress of a Jew, and with ashes on his head, to public insults: and at length, beginning to believe the Patriarch's excuses, he reduced his demands to fifty, and at length to ten, thousand pieces of gold. The latter sum was promised by the Jacobites: and John was not only liberated, but dismissed with great honour. As it happened to be Maundy Thursday, he repaired forthwith to the church, and went through the customary ceremony of washing the feet: and, after distributing the Holy Eucharist to the people, he returned home. Abdel-Aziz seemed determined, by heaping benefits on the Jacobites, to make them forget his harsh treatment; he published an edict to the effect that none should presume to injure the Patriarch by word or deed; that he should have full liberty to go where he would; and should meet with due honour from all persons. His accuser was put to the torture and slain.[1]

Encouraged by these proofs of the Governor's favour, John ventured on a laborious and extensive work, the rebuilding the church of S. Mark.[2] He accomplished it in three years, and the contributions of his flock towards it were very liberal. At this time, in a worldly point of view, the Patriarchate of Alexandria must, notwithstanding the domination of the infidels, have been a desirable post, and probably the Jacobite Communion was never in a more flourishing condition than now. Mills and oil presses were purchased for it by the Patriarch in more than one province of Egypt: and in a three years' famine, which

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 175.

[2] Makrizi, § 328, places this under Agatho.

was severely felt throughout the country, multitudes of poor were supplied, twice every week, with bread and money.

These temporal advantages no doubt co-operated with the absence of a Catholic Patriarch, to the spread of the Jacobite heresy in Egypt. The immense power which the See of Alexandria claimed, now turned out its most deadly enemy: there were no Metropolitans to consecrate Catholic Prelates throughout the Diœcese, and consequently the orthodox Bishops were dying off, and the ignorant people were easily seduced by the fair words and specious arguments of the intruders: and the name of S. Cyril, whom they constantly cited as the first leader of their dogmas, must also have exercised great influence among a nation who fondly clung to it. Accordingly, during this Patriarchate, the Churches of Syene and Lycopolis[1] appear to have been perverted from the truth.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Catholic Church, at the lowest ebb of its influence, ever actually ceased to exist either in Alexandria, or in the provinces. It possessed no Patriarchs: but a succession of Prelates was procured from Syria. It may be inferred, that those who were so consecrated, were Monothelites; but this heresy was now on the decline in Egypt, and wanted only the decision of an Œcumenical Council to disappear altogether.

The Sixth Œcumenical Council.

In November, A.D. 680, the Sixth General Council was, by the efforts of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, assembled at Constantinople. The number of Prelates were small compared with those of Nicæa or Chalcedon, as in the fullest session there were not more than between a hundred and sixty and a hundred and seventy present. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were there in person: Pope Agatho was represented by his three legates: the domination of the infidels prevented the appearance of any delegate from Jerusalem, and the members of the Church in Alexandria commissioned[2] Peter, a Priest of that Church, "and Vicar,"—so he signs himself—"of the Apostolic Throne," to represent the Egyptians. The

[1] Le Quien, 2, 692, C.

[2] Fleury, (vol. ix. 31.) evidently wrote hastily, where he observes, "*Le Patriarche d'Alexandrie*, et le vicaire de Jerusalem n' avoient pu venir au Concile, parcequ'ils etoient sous la domination des Arabes."

seventeen, or as the Latins reckon them, eighteen sessions of the Council lasted from the November of 680, till the August of 681: and the great and Canonical order of its proceedings is very observable. Macarius of Antioch was the chief support of the Monothelites: and after a fair hearing, and candid examination of the passages he quoted from the Fathers in his defence, he was condemned, with the partners of his errors. In this condemnation Pope Honorius was included, being anathematized with Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and others, in the thirteenth session, holden on the twenty-eighth of March.

It was, however, impossible that this Council could in any way assist the suffering Alexandrian Church, further than by ridding it of the dangerous heresy which it had hitherto allowed, if not embraced, and which, while it lasted, rendered its dispute with the Jacobites a question rather of words than of things.

In the meantime Semnudæus, desirous of not repeating his former cause of offence, proposed to visit the court of Abdel-Aziz, for the purpose of paying his respects to the Governor: but was seized with a pleurisy on the journey, and brought back to Alexandria by water. Finding his end approaching, he gave orders that he should be carried into the church of S. Mark, which he himself had built: and there, while engaged in celebrating the Holy Eucharist, fell into a swoon, and, being borne into a neighbouring house, expired. Death of John IV. Nov. 27, 686.*

On the death of Semnudæus, the Bishops who had consoled him in his last moments, assembled in Council with the Priests of the Church of Alexandria, and the most influential of the laity, elevated George, a deacon of the Church of Saca, or Xois, to the vacant Chair. The consent of the Emir, however, had not been previously obtained; and they determined, if their choice should be displeasing to him, to shelter themselves under the plea, that the late Patriarch had bound them by oath to this election. It does not appear that there were any grounds for such a statement. George was accordingly ordained Priest: and public notice was given, that on the following day he would receive Episcopal Consecration. At the time appointed, clad in the Patriarchal robes, he was led towards the church; when the consecrators were met by Mark the Archdeacon, a man of con- *Isaac, Pat. xli.* A.D. 686.

* Le Quien, ii., p. 452.

summate prudence, who represented it to be contrary to custom, that a Patriarch of Alexandria should be consecrated, except on the Sunday. The ceremony was thus procrastinated: and before it could take place, letters arrived from Abdel-Aziz, commanding the attendance of all the parties concerned, at Misra, better known by the name of Old Cairo. He gave the matter a patient hearing, when it became evident, that Isaac, a monk of S. Macarius, had been the man whom Semnudæus had intended as his successor. The election of George was hereupon pronounced null and void, and Isaac consecrated with the consent of all parties.[1]

It is worthy of observation, that, tenacious as in many points the Egyptian Jacobites were of the discipline of the early Church, they permitted, without scruple, that a Bishop should nominate his successor. This was contrary to Canons, no less express than repeated: and yet it had been the constant use of the Church of Alexandria. So we have seen S. Athanasius designated by Alexander as his successor: so also Achillas and Alexander himself by S. Peter the Martyr.

Affairs of Nubia.

It appears that at this time war was raging between the Emperor of Ethiopia, and the King of Nubia. Isaac wrote letters exhorting them to concord: and this is the first instance which occurs of any ecclesiastical connexion between Nubia and Egypt. The act, however, was misrepresented to Abdel-Aziz, whether as a political intrigue for the overthrow of the Mahometans, or in some other light equally offensive to the Emir: and Isaac was condemned to lose his head. In this extremity, his friends, by a substitution of letters entirely free from offence, in the place of those with which the Legates were really charged, contrived to pacify the Governor, and to preserve the life of the Patriarch.

First Persecution under Abdel-Aziz.

But Abdel-Aziz, though prevailed on to spare Isaac, commenced a persecution of the Christians. He ordered that all the Crosses, of whatever material, in use for the Divine Offices, should be broken: and he insulted the Faith by the sentences which he required to be written on the church-doors. Thus, he gave directions that the words, MAHOMET, THE GREAT APOSTLE OF GOD, and JESUS CHRIST, THE APOSTLE OF GOD, should be

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 177.

painted there in juxta-position; as also the famous sentence from the Koran, GOD NEITHER BEGETTETH, NOR IS BEGOTTEN.[1] Thus the Christians could not assemble for worship, without having their eyes wounded, and their feelings shocked by blasphemy. Isaac, however, was enabled to restore, at very great expense, the church of S. Mark named Kamscia: and to build one at Holwan, the place where he had first met Abdel-Aziz. The Patriarch did not long enjoy his dignity. His life was written by a Bishop named Mennas; and the work is preserved in MS. in the Vatican Library.[2] He is commemorated by the Ethiopians under the title of The Just.

On the death of Isaac, a difficulty arose as to the choice of his successor. The Priests of the Angelium, a hundred and forty in number, and a very influential body, were in favour of John, Abbat of Mount Nitria, or, as the Arabic writers term it, Elzejage: that dignitary was also supported by a relation, who happened to be Secretary of State to the Emir. The second candidate was Victor, Archimandrite of some other monastery. John's party prevailed, and he was carried before Abdel-Aziz, that he might obtain the confirmation of his election.[3]

Nov. 3, 688.*

Simon, Patr. xlii. A.D. 689

Contested election.

It happened that in the same monastery of Mount Nitria, there was a monk of considerable eminence for his learning, by name Simon. A Syrian by birth, he had been early dedicated by his parents to the service of GOD: and they had made choice of Mount Nitria as the House to which he should be offered, because the remains of the famous Jacobite Severus reposed there; this heretic being venerated by his party as a Saint, second only to Dioscorus, and the object of especial devotion to his fellow countrymen, the Syrians. As the youth grew up, he distinguished himself by the study of the Scriptures, the greater part of which he knew by heart, and was an especial favourite of the Abbat, whom he accompanied, when he presented himself before the Emir. A considerable number of the most influential Jacobites followed the Patriarch elect: the Emir, struck

[1] Severus, ap. Renaud. p. 178. Makrizi, § 330, says nothing of this.

[2] Asseman, B. O. tom. i. 618.

[3] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 179.

* Here Renaudot, Le Quien, and Sollerius agree. But this cannot be reconciled with Makrizi's statement (§ 330), that Isaac sat two years and eleven months.

with the dignity and calmness which distinguished John, demanded whether the choice which marked him out were unanimous. Those who were present replied with one voice that it was, and signified their approbation by loud acclamations; when, on a sudden, a Bishop who was present observed, without consulting any of his brethren, that John would not be their Patriarch. "Whom then," continued Abdel-Aziz, while all around were struck with astonishment, "do you consider worthy of the vacant dignity?" "Simon," replied the Prelate. "What countryman is he?" continued the Emir. Those who stood around made answer that he was a Syrian. "And is there no one," pursued the Governor, "of this country, who has merit enough to assume its Patriarchate?" The by-standers observed, that their choice had already fallen on an Egyptian: but that the Will of GOD, and the Emir's pleasure, must decide the matter. Simon here took occasion to remark, that no more deserving candidate than John, his own spiritual father, could be supplied either by Egypt, or the whole East: and urged Abdel-Aziz to confirm his election. But the Christians were so fascinated by the modesty of his speech, that with one accord they demanded him for their Patriarch, and the Emir having consented, he was consecrated in the church of the Angelium. His first act was to appoint John his coadjutor in the more difficult affairs of his Diœcese: he still acknowledged him as his master, and was in all respects guided by his advice. When, at the end of three years, the Abbat was seized with a mortal disease, the Patriarch hardly left him during the forty days that it lasted, and finally closed his eyes. He erected him a sepulchre, and gave directions that his own remains should be interred beside those of his beloved master.

The Bishops before the Caliph.

He relaxed nothing of the severity of the monastic rule in his new dignity: never tasted flesh, and sought, as far as might be, to remain in solitude. It is not wonderful that Jacobite authors should have attributed to him the power of miracles. And here we may remark, that we shall not relate any legends of a similar kind, unless they are such as to throw light on the doctrine or discipline of the Jacobite Communion. This is not the place to discuss the very difficult question, whether it may ever have pleased GOD in a contest between, on the one hand, an infidel

Asceticism of Alexander.

power, and on the other a branch of the Church, whether heretical and schismatical, as the Egyptian and Antiochene Jacobites, purely heretical, as the Ethiopians and Nubians, or purely schismatical, as in later times, the Alexandrian Bishops of the Latin Rite, to bear testimony to the great portion of truth which even the worst of the three latter cases has retained, by the intervention of a miracle. But it may at least be said, that such accounts should be very cautiously received: the more so, when related by authors who speak of similar manifestations of power exerted on behalf of their own heresy or schism against the True Church.

John, Bishop of Nicius, a rigid observer of the Canons, was made by Simon superintendent of the Egyptian Monasteries. This was a post of no small difficulty and labour, for the zeal for monastic life was still vigorous in Egypt, and new cells were built every day. A monk, who was convicted of adultery, was by this Prelate's order so severely scourged, that he died on the tenth day.[1] The Bishops, indignant at this cruelty, petitioned the Patriarch to deprive the offender, which was accordingly done, in spite of the imprecations with which John loaded his accusers: and it would appear that this was the first instance of the deposition of a Prelate which had occurred in the Jacobite Communion in Egypt. Deposition of John of Nicius.

The Catholics still remained in a lamentable state of depression. There were, however, two officers of the bedchamber in the court of Abdel-Aziz, who retained the True Faith: they obtained leave from the Emir to erect a church, and accordingly built a small one at Holwan, known in after ages by the name of that of the Two Grooms of the Chamber.[2] Depressed, however, as the Catholic Church was, it did not fail to send a Legate to the Council summoned by Justinian II., to Constantinople, in the year 691. As neither the Fifth nor Sixth Œcumenical Councils had composed any Canons of discipline, it was desired to supply the defect: and being designed to serve as a supplement to them, this Synod is usually known by the name of the Quinisext. It is also called the Council in Trullo,—from the place chosen for its sessions,—a large room of the palace, covered with a dome, and thence called Trullus. The Emperor had Council in Trullo. A.D. 691.

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 182.

[2] Eutychius, ii. 369.

intended that it should be Œcumenical: the Legates of Pope Sergius, the Patriarchs of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and Peter, Vicar-General of Alexandria, the same who had been present at the Sixth Council, all appeared, with other Bishops to the number of two hundred and eleven. But as the Pope's Legates refused to sanction the Canons, which were afterwards condemned at Rome, this Synod can only be considered as a General Council of the Eastern Church, by which its Canons, in number one hundred and two, have been ever since received as a rule of Church discipline.

The most important of these Canons is that which treats on the marriage of the Clergy. The Fathers of the Quinisext Council blame the strictness of the Western rule, and while they forbid marriage after elevation to the Priesthood or Diaconate, they allow those who are already married to be raised to either order, forbidding any vow of continence to be imposed on them at the time of their ordination. But Bishops, whether previously married or not, are bound to observe entire continence. They also enjoin, apparently hinting at the disorders beginning to be introduced into the Latin Church, that if any married Clerk pretends to observe continence, he should entirely quit the society of his wife, thereby proving his vow to have been made in earnest. The other Canons of this Council we shall have a fitter opportunity of noticing.

Peter, Legate of Alexandria.

It is remarkable that in this Council, Peter of Alexandria should have signed himself Bishop of that city.[1] Difficult as was then the intercourse between Egypt and Constantinople, there must have been too much to allow a Presbyter to pretend himself the Patriarch. Probably he assumed this title, as having as much authority to represent the Church of Alexandria as if he had been really Patriarch; and perhaps also to give his signature more weight at Rome, where the posture of affairs might

[1] The signature is, Πέτρος, ἀνάξιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μεγαλοπόλεως. There is therefore more excuse for Fleury's misstatement here, "Un Concile, où se trouvèrent deux cents onze évêques, dont les principaux étoient les *quatre* Patriarches, Paul de Constantinople, *Pierre d'Alexandrie*," etc. (vol. ix. 105,) than in the case of the Sixth Council, where the subscription is, Πέτρος πρεσβύτερος, καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῆς Αλεξανδρείας μεγαλοπόλεως.

not be so well understood. The Council were extremely desirous to obtain the Pope's subscription: a blank was left for it in the highest place, and immediately underneath followed the names of the three other Patriarchs and Peter. The document might be supposed to possess the appearance of more authority, if the latter assumed the title which he merely represented.

Heresy on the subject of marriage.

At this time there arose a set of heretics in Egypt, who taught that it was lawful at pleasure to divorce a wife.[1] The Jacobite Bishops separated these men from their Communion, and, indignant at the insult, they applied to the Emir, pretending that the Prelates, their enemies, forbade marriage and permitted fornication. The Emir, knowing that the usual expedient among Christians, in case of any difficulty, was to decide it by a Council, determined on having recourse to this method, and accordingly summoned the Bishops of every sect, and from all parts of Egypt, to discuss the subject. Sixty-four assembled, and we may hence learn how much its distractions had numerically weakened the Egyptian Church. S. Athanasius could convene a hundred Catholic Prelates; but now, Jacobites, Gaianites, Barsanuphians, and Catholics, who seem to have been termed Theophylactians, could not furnish two-thirds of that number.

Council of Misra. A.D. 695.

While this Council was sitting, news arrived of the disturbances at Constantinople, which had ended in the deposition of Justinian. The Emperor, already odious for his bad conduct, at length arrived at such a pitch of frenzy, as to order a general massacre of the inhabitants of the metropolis, to commence with the Patriarch. Leontius, a patrician of eminence, who had gained reputation by his military conduct in the East, but had afterwards been detained three years in prison, was entrusted with the government of Greece, with orders to take his departure instantly. At the instigation of his friends, who contrived to liberate many prisoners, he put himself at the head of a party of the citizens, seized the Emperor, mutilated, and sent him into exile, and himself assumed the purple.

On the receipt of these tidings, the Emir, whose conduct to the Christians had been probably influenced by the fear of Justinian, imagining the power of the Greek empire to be seriously shaken, began to give the rein to his natural dispo-

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 183.

sition. He forbade the celebration of the Divine Offices, upbraiding the Christians, as well with their belief in the Son of God,—the common reproach of the Mussulmans,—as also with their intestine divisions. Summoning the assembled Fathers, he inquired of the Gaianite Bishop which Prelate, not of his own sect, he considered to be nearest to the truth. The Bishop pointed to Simon, the Jacobite. The same question, put to George the Barsanuphian and Theophylact,[1] a Catholic Prelate, met with the same reply. Simon was then asked, which of his rivals he thought the most sound in doctrine. The Jacobite Patriarch made answer that he could fix on none as in any degree entitled to his approval, inasmuch as he anathematized equally, Melchites, Barsanuphians, and Gaianites.

Mission from India.

Shortly afterwards, a Priest arrived from India, requesting Simon to ordain a Bishop for that country.[2] It is difficult[3] to say what region is meant, in this instance, by the name India: whether India properly so called, Ethiopia, or the Homeritæ. It is probable, however, that it is not the Homeritæ who are intended, because, in the first place, the Priest is said to have been black, and in the second, not to have been a subject of the Mahometans. Neither is it likely that Ethiopia is meant, as well because a Metropolitan, not a Bishop, would have been, as the custom was, requested, as because the course taken by the messenger on his return was not towards Ethiopia. We may therefore probably understand the Church of Malabar, commonly called the Christians of S. Thomas. It is true that, at this time, so far as the obscurity of history permits us to discover, this people were Nestorians; but it is also true that Nestorians and Jacobites have always been more ready to sympathize with each other than with the Catholic Church, which takes the *via media* between their errors. The Malabar Church, instead of

[1] Who Theophylact was, and of what See he was Bishop, it is impossible to say. Le Quien (ii. 454) conceives that he may be the same with Theophilus, an Egyptian Bishop, who, after the commencement of the Mussulman slavery, was the author of a pious little work, entitled, *What does the life of man resemble?* But this treatise is by others again attributed to Christopher, the Catholic Patriarch at the beginning of the ninth century.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 184. Elmacinus, p. 68. Le Quien, ii. 454, 666. Makrizi, § 332.

[3] Renaudot, 188. Le Quien, ii. 454, 666.

sending to the Catholic of Chaldæa for a Bishop or Metropolitan, might have found it more easy to apply to Simon. At all events, if the Legate did not come from Malabar, he must have come from some country beyond the Abyssinians, and on the eastern coast of Africa.

Simon, in answer to the application, returned, that he was unable to comply with their request, until he should have obtained the sanction of the Emir, which he offered, if they wished it, to request. But in the meantime, Theodore the Gaianite obtained the confidence of the foreign Priest, and having ordained a Bishop for India, and two Priests as his companions, he sent them away. After twenty days' journey they were arrested, and, with the exception of the Indian, who saved himself by flight, carried as prisoners before Abdel-Meleeh the Caliph. The latter commanded them to be punished by the loss of their hands and feet, and returned them into Egypt, blaming the Emir for allowing spies to pass from his province to India, and commanding that the Patriarch who had presumed to ordain the prisoners, should receive two hundred blows, and pay an enormous sum to the treasury. Simon protested his innocence, but without obtaining credit: he petitioned for a delay of three days, in which time the Indian Priest was found, who confirmed his account. The Indian was thrown into prison, and Theodore the Gaianite crucified: the Emir at the same time wrote to the Caliph, setting forth the true history of the proceedings, and giving Simon a high character for probity and moderation.

Buildings of Abdel-Aziz.

Abdel-Aziz, intent on beautifying the principal cities of his province, carried on considerable works, such as the erection of walls, market-places, baths, and aqueducts, at Alexandria, Holwan, and his own residence, Misra. The latter city we have had occasion to mention. Its original name was Babylon[1]; and it is by some, although erroneously, imagined to be referred to under that name in the first Epistle of S. Peter.[2] It became deserted in the sixth century, and from its ruins Old Cairo arose: the Emirs fixed their seat here, and gave it the name of Misra, from Misraim, the name, throughout all the Semitic family, of that people. In Holwan the Christians were

[1] Le Quien, ii. 555, 6.

[2] 1 S. Pet. v. 13.

commanded to build two churches, as a public ornament: and the work was put under the direction of Gregory, Bishop of Kis,[1] a town known to the Romans by the name of Cusæ, in the province of the first Thebaid. The whole of Egypt suffered much from the passion of Abdel-Aziz for building: he is termed by the Eastern historians a second Pharaoh. Simon, however, prudently took care that the works with which the Christians were charged should be finished with diligence, so to prevent all pretext for another persecution. The Patriarch did not long survive these events: he died on the Feast of Pentecost, and was buried in the monastery of Mount Nitria, where he had been educated, near the tomb of his Abbat John.[2] His memory is celebrated, as a great Festival, by both Ethiopians and Copts, on the twenty-fourth of July. Among his other miracles, he is said to have thrice received poison, after he had celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and to have escaped unharmed: a fourth attempt, made before he had celebrated, was followed by forty days' illness.[3]

A.D 700.

On the death of Simon, there was a vacancy of three years, from what cause is unknown[4]: and for some portion of that time the affairs of the Church were administered by Gregory, Bishop of Kis. At the end of that time, Alexander, a monk of Nitria, was raised to the Jacobite Throne, to which he had not long been consecrated, when a persecution broke out over Egypt. Asabah, the eldest son of Abdel-Aziz, was at this time entrusted with the chief care of the government, to which it was believed that he would succeed; and his cruel and rapacious temper, and sentiments of hatred to the Christian religion, caused him to be viewed with terror and dislike. He admitted to his intimacy a Deacon, by name Benjamin, an apostate, who instructed him in the mysteries of the Faith, explaining to him the Gospels in Arabic, and reading to him various books on the subject of religion, and several of the Synodal Letters of the Patriarchs.

Alexander, Pat. xliii. A.D. 703. Second Persecution under Asabah.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 585, 7.

[2] Wansleb. p. 320. Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 185. Sollerius, p. 76*.

[3] So says Severus; but Elmacinus, p. 68, and Ludolf, Comment. p. 422, affirm that his death was occasioned by this poison. Anyhow, Ludolf is mistaken in saying, "Veneno sublatus fertur hoc die," *i. e.*, July 24; for it is evident that Pentecost could never have fallen so late.

[4] Makrizi, 333. Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 189. Sollerius, p. 76*. Le Quien, ii. 454.

From his increased knowledge, the Infidel only acquired increased opportunites of blasphemy: and listening to the calumnies of some who had access to his person, although fire-worshippers by religion, he conceived a particular aversion from the Monks. He commissioned Yezid, one of his courtiers, to take a census of the Monks throughout Egypt, for the purpose of imposing a capitation tax of one gold piece on each: and at the same time forbade that any one, in future, should take upon himself monastic vows. Besides the common tribute which the Bishops paid, he loaded them with a tax of two thousand golden pieces. The apostate Benjamin incited him to carry on his tyrannical proceedings; and their violence was such, that many, both of the Clergy and laity, embraced Mahometanism. The storm, however, did not last long. Asabah and Abdel-Aziz were removed from the world within a few weeks of each other; and the Jacobite historians assure us that the circumstances attending their decease were such as evidently to prove a supernatural effect of GOD'S vengeance. Asabah, they affirm, entered one of the churches at Holwan, and after looking at an icon of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Child, inquired of the Bishop, who was present, whom it was intended to represent. On being informed, he blasphemed and spat on it, and pledged himself, at some future time, to exterminate Christianity from the country; "for who," asked he, "is CHRIST, that He should be thought worthy of Divine honours?" He was terrified, the same night, by a vision of the Judgment-seat of GOD: he beheld himself and his father brought in chains before the Throne, and condemned to perish. He related the dream to Abdel-Aziz; was the next day carried off by a violent fever; and was followed, at no long period of time, to the grave by his father, who died of a broken heart.[1]

Blasphemy and death of Asabah.

The Caliph Abdel-Melech appointed his son Abdallah Emir of Egypt. This Prince excelled his predecessors in cruelty: he invented tortures for the Christians, and delighted in commanding the head of a guest to be struck off as he sat at table. Notwithstanding these ferocities, it was necessary that Alexander

A.D. 705.

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 191. Elmacinus, p. 69, tells the story somewhat differently.

should wait on him at Misra, for the purpose of complimenting him on his accession. It was with difficulty that he was admitted into the presence of the tyrant, who at length condescended to ask him whether he were the man whom the Christians venerated as a father? The reply being in the affirmative, Abdallah gave the Patriarch into the hands of one of his officers, with the direction to obtain from him the greatest sum of money that it appeared possible to extort. Alexander was thrown into prison; and three thousand pieces of gold was the sum which his captors demanded. The Christians who were about the court, prayed that some abatement might be made in the terms; but their petitions were useless. After three days, George, a Deacon, who was present, and who was convinced that till the money was paid down, the Patriarch would not be freed, obtained leave to take the charge of Alexander, engaging, at the expiration of two months, to produce him. In that time, he said, he could, by travelling through the towns and villages, and exhibiting to the people the sorrows of their Patriarch, collect from their charity the required donation. His request was granted: and thus was the lamentable state of the Christians in Egypt vividly displayed. The heretical occupier of the Chair of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril was compelled to wander, like a vagabond, from city to city, and from hamlet to hamlet, committed to the charge of one who was responsible for his return to the court of his persecutor, and endeavouring to excite pity where he might, and to obtain alms where he could. The required sum was at last obtained: and the insatiable Abdallah doubled, and in one year trebled the tribute paid by the Christians: observing that he considered them no better than Romans or Greeks, and the enemies of God. He took a census of all the Christian youth: he branded all strangers on the forehead or in the hands: nor would he allow the dead to be committed to the grave before tribute money was paid for each. Churches were spoiled and laid waste: those persons who were able, fled: many in their wanderings died of hunger, and lay unburied.[1]

Third Persecution under Abdallah

[1] Makrizi relates these atrocities with a frankness which does him honour. § 338—340.

A rebellion took place in Lower Egypt; but the Christians were overcome in a bloody battle, and the persecution became more severe.

This lamentable state of things lasted two years[1]: at the end of which time, the Caliph Abdel-Melech dying, was succeeded by his son Walid: who made many changes with respect to his Emirs, and amongst others, replaced Abdallah by Korah-ben-Serik. The friends of the late Emir, whether Mussulmans or Christians, were alike thrown into prison; but the condition of the Jacobites was not improved. On the complimentary visit paid by Alexander to Korah, another sum of three thousand pieces of gold was demanded. The Patriarch replied, and swore to the truth of his statement, that he had no money by him, except a sum quite insignificant in comparison of that demanded: adding, that the donations required by Abdallah had been raised by begging, and that he was in a state of poverty. The Emir was unmoved, and still insisted on the amount named, giving Alexander leave to collect it in Upper Egypt. Thither he accordingly bent his steps; and was received with great joy by the inhabitants, who had not seen a Patriarch among them since the time of Benjamin. He was accompanied by his Treasurer and his Secretary, who however appear to have remained in the northern parts of the Thebais, while the Patriarch himself pursued his journey to its very extremity. In the meantime, a recluse, who had two Monks as disciples, directed them to prepare him a cell in another place: in digging its foundations, they discovered five chests of ancient Greek coins. Four of these they showed to their master: the fifth they reserved for their own use. The old man gave directions that the supply, so providentially sent, should be presented to the Patriarch; but, as he was still absent, it was entrusted to the hands of his Treasurer and his Secretary, who appropriated it to themselves. The two Monks, so unexpectedly possessed of a treasure, threw off the ascetic life, gave a loose to their passions, and revelled in splendour and luxury. As it was known that they had pos-

[1] Renaudot, p. 104.

sessed no property which could support this extravagance, one of them was arrested on suspicion, and being put to the torture, he confessed his own theft, at the same time mentioning the parties to whom four of the chests had been entrusted. The matter came to the ears of the Emir: he, apparently believing that there must be some collusion between the Patriarch and his followers, commanded the great church of Alexandria and the Bishop's Palace to be shut up: seized all the moveables and books that were to be found in the latter: commanded the Patriarch to be brought in chains before him: upbraided him as guilty of perjury in the oath he had taken of his poverty: threatened him with death, and finally, after seven days' imprisonment, dispatched him again on the same cruel errand. Two years' wandering produced only a third part of the sum demanded; and with this, it would appear, the Emir was compelled to rest contented.

But no sooner had he emerged from this danger than Alexander was beset by another. He was accused to Korah of having a private mint in the patriarchal residence, and of striking money there. This calumny was willingly believed, and acted upon without inquiry: a band of soldiers was sent to the Episcopal palace, and though no trace whatever of the proceedings in question could be discovered, the Patriarch and all who were in the house were seized, and scourged till they were covered with blood, and in danger from the severity of the punishment.

A.D. 714. The selfishness of the Alexandrian Ecclesiastics augmented the troubles of their Patriarch. At Easter, although aware of the poverty of their Church, they demanded their accustomed presents; and though Alexander represented to them that the Holy Mysteries were celebrated in glass and wood, instead of gold and silver, they were hardly to be pacified. But one Jounes, a Jacobite of eminence, and possessing some influence with the Emir, bethought himself of a method by which he could in some degree lighten the load under which his brethren were labouring. He requested Korah to put the enforcement of the tribute into his hands, observing that, as at present collected, it fell unequally, the distinction between the wealthy and the destitute not being sufficiently observed. On being raised to

the post for which he had petitioned, he also obtained leave to double the tribute of those who were neither Mahometans nor members of the Church, intending, of course, by the latter denomination, Jacobites only. Those so punished included, in all probability, the Melchites, as well as the heretical sects. Alexander seems to have considered this a favourable opportunity for increasing the influence of his party: and accordingly set forth on a patriarchal visitation, the peculiar privileges of the Bishop of Alexandria giving him, as we have so often before had occasion to remark, metropolitical powers over his whole Diœcese.

In Sais, or, as the Arabians call it, Sa, he found a large number of Gaianites and Semidalites.[1] Having convinced them of their error, he re-baptized them; a fact which shows what was the Jacobite use as to the reception of heretics, at least at this time; for authors of that sect are not agreed as to the propriety of re-baptizing. In the Diocese of Mena, a name which seems corrupted, there were a large number of unbaptized Monks, as well as Barsanuphians, all of whom he received into his Communion.

Fourth Persecution under Korah and Theodore.

Korah, after a short pause, renewed his vexations and exactions, seizing at his pleasure the wealth of those men of eminence who were Christians. He extorted from the Bishops an additional sum of a hundred thousand pieces of gold, and in order to prevent the emigration which his violences occasioned, he appointed an officer for the express purpose of punishing with death such as should presume to change the place of their abode, for the purpose of escaping the fury of the tyrant. A pestilence, which broke out in Egypt, added to the miseries of that unhappy country; unless, indeed, the benefit it conferred by carrying off Korah might be considered an equivalent for its ravages.

But the persecution did not end with the persecutor. Theodore, lieutenant of Korah at Alexandria, appears to have taken upon himself the administration of the province, until the appointment of another Emir; and to gratify his avarice, he gave orders that the piers of porphyry and marble should be removed from many of the churches, the ruin of which neces-

[1] S. Johan. Damascen. i. 107.

sarily followed. The new Emir was Asama, appointed either by Walid,[1] or by his successor Soliman,[2] and he surpassed his predecessors in cruelty. Famine trod in the steps of the plague: and pestilence again followed famine. The Monks, in the meanwhile, were the special object of the tyrant's hatred: he renewed the law against the future adoption of a religious vow; he took a census of all the existing Monks, and he commanded that each of them should wear on his right hand an iron fetter, upon which the name of his house and the year of the Hegira was engraved. Those who attempted to fly, or who were discovered without that badge of ignominy, he mutilated or blinded: he put many to death, some of whom expired by tortures; and at length, giving a full rein to his avarice, he allowed his ministers to put to death whom they would, on the condition that he received the property of the murdered person. Thus Bishops, Churches, and individuals were reduced to destitution; and such was the Emir's passion for amassing gold, that the value of that metal rose considerably. Many were reduced to sell their children for subsistence; and when it might have been thought that human ingenuity could not suggest a further method for the extortion of money, the Emir commanded that no one should presume to travel without a passport, which was to be obtained for ten gold pieces; and if lost, must be replaced by another which cost the same sum. The story is even told of a woman who, journeying with her son, had given the necessary titles of security into his care: the latter, while drinking at the river side, was seized and devoured by a crocodile, and the wretched mother was compelled to sell some of her garments and to beg, to avoid the amputation of her hands, the penalty attached to the neglect of the Emir's law.[3]

Circa A.D. 715.

Fifth Persecution under Asama.

On the death of Soliman, Omar, his successor, threw Asama into chains, and he perished miserably at Misra. The government of the new Caliph, who does not seem to have sent any Emir into Egypt, at first gave some alleviation to the Christians; and the Churches and Bishops were freed from tribute. But shortly afterwards, letters arrived in Egypt, commanding that all Christians should embrace Mahometanism, or, failing that,

[1] So Severus, ap. Renaud. p. 197. [2] So Elmacinus, p. 74.
[3] Severus, ap. Renaud. p. 198.

should leave the country. His successor, Yezid, the sixteenth Caliph,[1] renewed the taxes abolished by his predecessor, and gave orders for the destruction of all the images which adorned the churches. His successor, Hischam, shewed himself much more favourable to the Christians. Obeidallah,[2] however, the Emir whom he appointed over Egypt, did not share his master's sentiments; he doubled the tributes, he not only numbered the Christians, but decreed that all such should wear round their necks a leaden signet, on which the figure of a lion was engraved. The Patriarch, summoned before this Emir, escaped by sea, accompanied by the Bishop of Wissim, a city the situation of which is unknown. On arriving at a place called Parœout, Alexander was seized with mortal sickness, and was released by death from his many sufferings, in which, although a heretic, he had set a noble example of consoling and supporting his flock. The Bishop who accompanied him, Aba-Hamoul, was arrested, and commanded to pay a thousand pieces of gold to Obeidallah; unable to do this, he was dragged with blows through the streets of Misra, and being suspended before the doors of the church of S. George, was scourged almost to death, until he was ransomed on the payment, by the Christians, of three hundred pieces of gold.[3] He is celebrated in the Ethiopic Calendar on the first of February. The sanctity of the Jacobite Monks at this time is the theme of great praise among their own historians: the monastery of Semida, and its archimandrite Aba-Sebeb, are especially lauded; as also Abraham and Genge, Monks of Wad y Habib, of whom Abraham is commemorated by the Ethiopians on the fourth of January.

Feb. 1, A.D 726.*

Cosmas, a native of Panopolis and a Monk of S. Macarius, was against his will, as the character of the times rendered likely, elevated to the Patriarchate. He was instant in prayer to obtain a speedy release from the afflictions and dangers of

Cosmas I. Patr. xliv. A.D. 726.

[1] Elmacinus, p. 78.

[2] So he is named by Severus: but Makrizi calls him Handalath ben Zifwan.

[3] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 201.

* Sollerius, p. 77*, places the death of Alexander in A.D. 729, which date appears untenable. Le Quien does not give any opinion. Abu'lberkat gives A.D. 714, which is wrong; Makrizi, 724: we follow Elmacinus.

his station, and only sat fifteen months. He is commemorated on the twenty-seventh of February; and his Ethiopic encomiast relates that during his short Episcopate the Church enjoyed peace.[1] We must again repeat, that the dates of these events are extremely uncertain: the Arabic historians contradict each other, and the same writer sometimes differs from himself. The dates assigned in the margin will, it is hoped, be found the most probable, where there is any obscurity or difficulty, but are not to be understood as offered with any further degree of confidence than as representing the time within two or three years either way.

Theodorus, Patr. xlv. A.D. 727.

Theodore, a Monk of Mareotis, succeeded to the vacant dignity.[2] But it will now be proper, before we relate the re-establishment of a Catholic Patriarch in Alexandria, to dwell for a short time on some of the rites and ceremonies attendant on the election and consecration of the Jacobite Patriarchs, which we shall not have another so fair opportunity of relating.

SECTION III.

ON THE METHOD OF ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE JACOBITE PATRIARCHS.

It was unnecessary,[3] while treating of the flourishing times of the Alexandrian Church, to dwell at any length on the method observed in the election and consecration of its Patriarchs, unless it were on the extraordinary privileges attached to the Priests of Alexandria, to which we have already referred.[4] But the case becomes different when Egypt had fallen into the power of the Mahometans. Not only was freedom of election denied, but other changes, in consequence of the transfer of

[1] Ludolf. Comment. p. 418.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 201. Le Quien, ii. 456. Makrizi, § 345. Wansleb. p. 320.

[3] The substance of this section is to be found in the learned and rambling Treatise of Renaudot, *De Patriarchâ Alexandrino*. Liturg. Oriental. i. 365—496.

[4] Vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

the seat of government from Alexandria to Misra, or Cairo, were necessarily made, which it will not be unprofitable to particularize. The election of Jacobite Patriarchs will, if the paradox may be allowed, better exhibit a specimen of the manner in which the Church adapts herself to existing circumstances, than that of the orthodox Prelates; because the latter, as we have before said, were moulded and acted on by foreign influence; while the former, in the details of ceremonial and the observance of the Canons, departed little from the spirit of their forefathers. The reader will by this time, we hope, have formed a tolerably accurate conception of the relative strength, position, and bearing of the two rival Communions in Egypt. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find a parallel to the condition of the Catholic Church in that country: but some idea of it may be obtained, if we remark that it much resembled that which, *to the eye of a Romanist*, his own Communion in England must possess. It was Catholic, but that was all; it did not possess the people's love; it was in no sense national; it was supported and fostered by foreign influence, and, last and least, it was not established.

On the death, then, of a Jacobite Patriarch, the neighbouring Bishops assembled, in order to proceed to a new election. The place of their meeting was sometimes at Alexandria, sometimes at Cairo; and, generally speaking, the two cities alternately enjoyed that honour. When this custom arose we have not the means of determining; nor does any instance present itself of its adoption earlier than the eleventh century. Its origin appears to be, that those laymen, who, on account of the proximity of the Court, had taken up their abode in Cairo, were unwilling to be deprived of all interest in the election: and perhaps, also, that it was found prudent to be near the Governor, in order with the greater ease to obtain his approbation of the party chosen. On the other hand, as well ancient precedent as the wishes of those who still remained at Alexandria, would vindicate the election for that city; and the matter could in no manner be compromised with such facility as by bestowing the privilege alternately on each. For a privilege it was felt to be: inasmuch as although the city in which it was held could not by any means determine the person

to be elected, it yet acquired, for the time being, a greater influence than it would otherwise have obtained. There are also instances of the Bishops meeting in the monastery of S. Macarius. In later ages, Cairo only was the place of election.

The assembly consisted of such Prelates as were able to be present, each attended by his own Priest: the Clergy and principal laity of Cairo: the principal laity and Clergy of Alexandria; and, in the midst of the assembly, the Priests of the Church of S. Mark, in the same city, headed by their Protopope, or Arch-Priest, and occupying that post, as principally concerned in the election. The rest took their places in order of consecration, and the senior Bishop presided; for, as we have had occasion to remark in another place, there was no Jacobite Metropolitan in Egypt. The first proceedings were the celebration of Mass, and the offering of prayers for the Divine direction; and licence was obtained from the Emir, or, in after times, from the Sultan: until this *congé d'élire* was granted—and there are instances of its being refused—the business could not proceed, or if it did, the whole was invalid. It may be observed that, with the advance of ages, the liberty of election was gradually diminished: until, at length, in many instances, the highest bidder was sure to obtain the Prince's favour, and the consequent election of the obsequious Council.

Among the laity and Clergy, the most important influence was possessed by the Priests of S. Mark. In former times, the election had been, as we have seen, entirely vested in their hands. But after the Mahometan invasion, this privilege was abolished: they still, however, retained that of being the first to give their opinion, though, when the election was held at Cairo, the Clergy of this city disputed with them the right. The right of proposal lay among the Priests and the laity, and in all cases the Alexandrians enjoyed more influence than the Cairites; but a strong protest from the united body of Bishops frequently prevented the adoption of an otherwise popular candidate. Disputes on such occasions sometimes ran high, and protracted or postponed the election for many months.

It sometimes happened that an ambitious ecclesiastic would

procure letters commendatory from the Emir; in such cases a remonstrance was made by the Bishops and principal laymen, setting forth the inherent right of every Church to elect its own governors; and it rarely occurred, during the earlier ages of Mahometan rule, that they ultimately elected any one whom they did not approve. Thus the enslaved Jacobites rejected a yoke to which Catholics, in a free country, unworthily submit!

It was necessary that the suffrages should be unanimous: and where there was a difference of opinion, the Bishops endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, that the matter should be discussed in an amicable manner: and any necessary length of time was allowed, for the purpose of arriving at an unanimous decision. There may be said to have been three parties influencing the result—the Prelates, the Alexandrians, and the Cairites. The Priests and laics voted together: the Bishops formed a separate body. But when an election was incapable of being decided in the ordinary method, recourse was had, in a solemn manner, to casting lots. In the first place, a hundred Monks were selected, of such as appeared fittest for the Patriarchate. From these, by plurality of voices, fifty were chosen; from these, twenty-five; from these, ten; and from these again, three. It might happen, that a sudden outburst of feeling directed itself in favour of one of the three; and in this case the thing was considered as providentially arranged; but if this did not occur, then the matter was committed to the lot. This casting of lots was known by the name of Heikelia, or Heikeliet, a derivative from the word Heikel, which signifies the Holy of Holies, and even the Altar itself; because it was at the Altar that the matter was entrusted to the Hand of God. The name of each of the candidates was written on a piece of parchment, and the three placed in an urn, a fourth being added, inscribed with the Name of Jesus Christ the Good Shepherd: and the urn itself was placed under the altar. Mass was then celebrated at the same altar, sometimes once only, sometimes on three days: and prayers offered in the same church day and night. At the termination of these offices of devotion, a young child was directed to take one of the pieces of parchment from the urn; and if it bore the name of any of the three candidates, the party so designated was at once

acclaimed Patriarch, and none dared to question the validity of his election. But if it happened that the schedule chosen bore the SAVIOUR'S Name, it was concluded that none of the three persons nominated were acceptable to GOD: and the whole process was repeated, until the lot pointed out some other candidate.

There were many requisites necessary to render it allowable to aspire to the dignity of Patriarch. It was necessary that the candidate should himself be free, and born of parents that were also free; that his father had been the only, or at least the first husband of his mother; that he should be sound in members, of good health, and at least of the age of fifty; should strictly have observed continence; should not even have been married, though by compulsion, and only in name; should never have shed the blood of man or beast; should either be a native of Egypt, or familiarly acquainted with the tongue; should be sufficiently well learned; of good character; not a Bishop; should not be elevated by the favour of the Emir; and should be of undoubted orthodoxy. On two of these conditions it seems necessary to say a few words.

That which enjoins that the Patriarch should be the child of his mother's first marriage, is thus to be explained. The Eastern Church not only condemns fourth marriages as absolutely unlawful, but considers both second and third marriages as in some degree blameable: third marriages indeed have been, in certain cases, prohibited. The benediction of the bride and bridegroom, which is, by the Eastern Church, called their coronation,[1] because crowns are placed on their heads, does not take place when either of the parties have been previously married, neither are they, or rather were they, admitted to Communion for a certain time subsequently—generally, in case of a bigamist, two, in case of a trigamist, five years. Hence a distinction was drawn between the son of a *crowned* and of an *uncrowned* mother: and as it was thought fit to present the most pure only to be the servants of the ALMIGHTY, the latter were excluded from

[1] It appears, however, that the Church of Constantinople allowed the crown in the case of second marriages; but the rule with respect to the Communion was strictly observed by it. —GOAR. *Euchol.* pp. 385, *seq.*; KING'S *Greek Church*, p. 231.

all ranks of the hierarchy, and much more from the dignity of Patriarch. The bigamy of the father did not, however, exclude the son even from that post.

The learning required in the Patriarch is chiefly to be understood of a thorough knowledge both of the Arabic and Coptic tongues. The Coptic, the vernacular language at the time of the Mahometan invasion, gradually gave way to the Arabic, which was introduced by the conquerors; but the Jacobites tenaciously clung, for the most part, to the former. In the Thebaid, and the remoter provinces, where the number of Christians was large in comparison with that of Mussulmans, Coptic long flourished; but in Lower Egypt, especially at Alexandria and Cairo, it was speedily replaced by Arabic. In all cases, however, it was retained for the Divine offices, and thus became the Ecclesiastical language: and hence the necessity that the Patriarch should be well acquainted with it.

The practice of raising to the Patriarchate none but those who were Monks was gradually introduced, but at last passed into a settled rule; and at the present time the privilege is still further restricted to the monasteries, which we have mentioned in our Introduction. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to notice several instances in which the above-mentioned conditions were violated or relaxed.

When the election was over, the people gave their assent, as in other places, by exclaiming either in Greek, or in their own language, *He is worthy*. The Bishop elect was then, as he still is, fettered, in a poor imitation of the golden days of the Church, when as in the case of Demetrius, the twelfth Patriarch,[1] those designed for the Episcopate were so conscious of its fearful responsibility, that it was sometimes necessary to employ force in their consecration.

The Patriarch elect was then received, brought forward, and the senior Bishop spoke a few words in his praise. The deed of election—in Arabic, Tazkiet; in Greek, Psephisma—was next prepared: it ran in the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Christians of Alexandria, and of the whole of Egypt. And this form seems to have been preserved, even after the place of election was always at Cairo. The instrument first dwelt at

[1] Vol. i. p. 16.

length on the praises of the deceased Patriarch, the public grief, the regular assembly for a new election, the inquiry into the character of the person proposed, his virtues, and his choice. This document was signed by the Bishops who were present, in order of their consecration; the senior Bishop, who had the title of Akbar, or Mokaddem, affixing his name first. Nor did the Metropolitan of Damietta, when that dignity was constituted about the twelfth century, claim the prerogative of precedence. The formula of subscription, in the Coptic language, was thus: "I, M., Bishop of the City N., that loveth CHRIST, consent to this Psephisma." After the Bishops, three Priests and three Deacons of Alexandria subscribed, who represented the whole of the Alexandrian Clergy. Next in order, the Archimandrite of the Monastery of S. Macarius attached his name; and he was followed by several of the principal laity, as well of Alexandria as of Cairo.

If the party elected were an Arch-Priest, or Comus, or Hegumen, he might immediately, on the next Sunday, be consecrated Patriarch. But if a simple Monk were chosen, it was considered necessary for him to pass the inferior orders. On the first day he was made Deacon; on the second, Priest; on the third, Arch-Priest; and so, on the following Sunday, he was constituted Patriarch. Before, however, this took place, the Bishop elect was taken before the Emir, that his *Sigel*, or deed of confirmation, might be secured. The principal Prelates and most eminent among the laity accompanied him: and, in times of peace, the procession was conducted with great pomp; the Priests went first, with tapers, crosses, censers, and the Books of the Gospel: the Deacons followed: then came the Bishops, surrounding the Patriarch elect, who was mounted on an ass, as well to imitate the humility of the entering of our SAVIOUR into Jerusalem, as because, by the Mahometan Laws, Christians were forbidden to use horses. The procession was closed by a promiscuous assemblage of Christian laity. The same order was observed in returning, except that a guard of honour accompanied the Christians, not less by way of assuring protection, than of conferring dignity.

The place of consecration was the church of the Angelium, in Alexandria. This custom continued till the end of the

eleventh century: after which, the consecration was frequently performed at Cairo, but the enthronisation was reserved for the Angelium. Not only was a public profession of faith previously required from the candidate, but certain promises were also exacted; both with respect to the city of Alexandria, and the common interests of the Jacobite Communion. It was stipulated, for instance, that the Patriarch elect should engage to pay an annual sum to the Clergy of Alexandria, to be expended in the ornaments, restorations, and every-day expenses of their churches. His engagements with respect to the Coptic Church were of various kinds: they were committed to writing, and copies being made of them, entrusted to the senior Bishop, and others of eminence. Instances occur where the Patriarchs, by force of an anathema, re-possessed themselves of these documents.

The election being performed, a feast was held on that, and on the two following days: on the second the new Patriarch was enthroned in the church of S. Michael, on the third, in that of S. Mark. If the election had taken place at Alexandria, proclamation of its result was made at Cairo.

As soon as he was invested with the new dignity, the Patriarch set forth for the Monastery of S. Macarius. The Monks came out to meet him, and conducted him with great pomp into their larger church. This church, dedicated by Benjamin, as we have before related, is viewed by the Jacobites as a place of extreme sanctity: and commemoration of its consecration is made yearly in their Calendar. The Patriarch prostrated himself in the chapel of Benjamin; the Archimandrite pronounced over him the Prayer of Absolution,—of which we have given a translation in the Introduction,—and the Patriarch then celebrated Mass at the same Altar. He had previously been proclaimed here also: and this was regarded in the light of a further confirmation of his dignity. From the Monastery of S. Macarius he proceeded to others, celebrating Mass in each.

The Patriarch occasionally, but not frequently, changed his name on his accession: so we find that Cyril, in the twelfth century, had previously been called George: John, in the thirteenth, Abu'lmeged.

On the conclusion of his accustomed duties, the Patriarch be-

took himself to the Patriarchal residence, or, as it was generally termed, Cell. The place of this abode varied with the varying fortunes of the Jacobites: but, wherever it were, it was near to that which for the time was their principal church. The Monastic rule was observed in this Cell: and the daily and nightly offices performed, as in a Religious House. For this purpose, the Patriarch made choice of some of his Clergy, on whom he could most fully depend, for his companions and assistants: and they formed, as it were, a kind of privy council, without whose assistance he undertook nothing of moment. Among these were his *Katibi*, or private secretaries, of whom there was more than one kind. The composition of the Paschal letters required considerable intimacy with the works of the Fathers: that of correspondence with the court at Cairo, a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language: and the ordinary legal business of the Patriarch's court, a deep acquaintance with the Canons. These Syncelli, or confidential secretaries, were commonly Monks, but sometimes, although contrary to the usual discipline, Bishops. They possessed, and too frequently abused, immense power: and their ambition was one principal source of the crimes with which a History of the Jacobite Communion must abound.

The above remarks may enable the reader to enter more fully into those events which we are about to relate. A few others, though partly anticipatory, may here be made with advantage.

It is worthy of remark, that the Jacobites appear to have erected no new Bishoprics. No heathen nations first received Christianity from them: while, however foul a heresy, Nestorianism exerted itself greatly in spreading its faith to the remotest regions. If in any instance we find an Episcopal See, in the time of the Jacobites, called by a name which does not occur while the Catholic Faith was alone that of Egypt, we may conclude that it arises from the desertion of some city which was anciently an Episcopal See, and the erection of another in some neighbouring situation.

In Lower Egypt, through most of the cities, we shall find two Bishops, respectively Catholic and Jacobite: but in the Thebais the Jacobites alone possessed the churches. We shall find that the exactions of Mahometan tyranny gradually introduced the fearful sin of simony: and this, while in other par-

ticulars, such as in the forbidding Episcopal Translation, the ancient canons were rigorously observed.

We shall further trace a very considerable resemblance in many particulars between the Bishops of Rome, and the Jacobite Prelates of Alexandria. However scandalous the morals, or infamous the life of any one of the former, (as in the case of Sergius the Third, and John the Eleventh) being amenable,—practically at least,—to no earthly tribunal, (except in the most outrageous instances,) he could indulge his passions without check or fear. And the case was the same with the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria, as we shall find in the instance of Cyril-ben-Laklak. Among these there are no examples of deposition: whereas a General Council of the East could always be summoned to restrain the violence, or correct the vices, of the Catholic Patriarch.

SECTION IV.

THE CATHOLIC SUCCESSION RESTORED.

The successor of the Jacobite Cosmas was, as we have seen, Theodore. For some time after his accession, the state of the Christians was much ameliorated: until Obeidallah, intent on procuring, by whatever means, a supply of money, overwhelmed both them and the Mahometans with new taxes. Complaint was made to the Caliph, Hischam, who removed the tyrannical governor, appointing him, by way of exile, to the province of Africa, that is, Mauritania. Here, by his cruelties he excited a rebellion, and was most barbarously murdered.

The long widowhood of the Church of Alexandria was now about to come to an end: and the courage and constancy of those who during its course had upheld the Faith of Chalcedon, was to meet at length with its reward. The circumstances which gave them courage, at this juncture, to elect a Patriarch, are not clearly stated. Cosmas, on whom their choice fell, was a needle-maker, who could neither read nor write,[1] but a man, as the

[1] Eutych. ii. 385.

Cosmas I. Patr. XXXVIII. A.D 727.* A.M. 443.

event proved, not unequal to the management of the Alexandrian Church in such difficult and critical times. He found that the situation of his flock was most deplorable. Branded as Melchites, they were naturally viewed with all the suspicion which attaches itself to the character of an alien and an intruder: crippled in resources, tainted with heresy, robbed of their ancient possessions, deprived of their ancient rights, their situation was, to the eye of man, almost hopeless. Thebais was almost[1] utterly lost: Ethiopia entirely heretical; so was Nubia: the Bishops were few: the laity dispersed: the Church viewed with suspicion both by East and West, as infected with Monothelitism.[2] Cosmas, however, determined on an appeal to the Caliph's sense of justice: and for this purpose he took a journey to

Depressed state of the Church.

* Le Quien fixes this date either with Makrizi (§ 356,) and Eutychius, (ii. 385,) in A.D. 727, or with Elmacinus, (p. 84,) in A.D. 729. But these computations are attended with this difficulty. Though Eutychius expressly says, that the See of Alexandria was vacant from the flight of George, ninety-seven years, the Jacobite writers as confidently affirm that Cosmas sat but twenty-eight years. This would fix the year of his death in 755 or 757. But we know, from a letter of Pope Hadrian I., that Cosmas was alive in 766: and Pagi even contends that he survived till 776. Fleury (ix. 272,) imagines the ninety-seven years to be reckoned from the capture of Alexandria, not from the flight of George. This endless confusion of dates, to which the reader pays little attention, but which are most perplexing to the writer, is one of the things that renders the History of the Eastern Church so difficult a task.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 460 D.

[2] It is a question not easy to be determined, whether Cosmas were, at the time of his consecration, a Monothelite. The arguments seem to stand thus: Theophanes expressly affirms that Cosmas abjured Monothelitism, and returned to the Communion of the Catholic Church about A.D. 742. On the other hand, Eutychius, a zealous adversary of the Monothelites, or, as he calls them, Maronites, never charges Cosmas with this heresy: nor does Elmacinus, who here abridges the account given by Eutychius. It is further to be observed, that the subscription of Peter, the Vicar of the vacant Throne of S. Mark, affixed to the sixth Œcumenical Council, proves that the Alexandrian Church could hardly at that time have been Monothelitic. The account of Theophanes may possibly have arisen from the acknowledgement of Alexandria as an orthodox Church by her sister Patriarchates: an event which could hardly have occurred for some time after the succession of Cosmas, as well from the suspicion which the Monothelitism of the last two Patriarchs must have engendered, as from the difficulty of intercourse between Alexandria and other parts of the Christian world. On the other hand, the very fact that the succession was kept up among the Egyptian Catholics from Tyre seems to favour the account of Theophanes, Syria and Phœni-

Damascus. He was, by some means, possessed of the good will of some of Hischam's secretaries, who possibly,—as was not unusually the case,—were Christians: and by their means, he obtained a favourable audience from the Caliph. He explained the fraud which had been practised by the Jacobites on the first Emirs: he proved that he himself was the real successor of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril: and that consequently to him were the Patriarchal revenues and the churches due. Hischam wrote back to the Emir commanding him to put the Christian churches, with all their appurtenances, into the hand of Cosmas: and the latter returned with the mandate to Misra. In what manner it was fulfilled, it is not easy to determine accurately. That many of the churches were given up, is certain: and among these were the Cæsarea and the Angelium, to which latter the Catholics could have no claim: at the same time, it is equally certain that many were retained by the Jacobites. Thus the Catholic Church became once more partially re-established in Egypt.[1]

Cosmas at Damascus.

The Catholics re-established in their rights.

The state of this unhappy country, however, was truly deplorable. A pestilence broke out, which carried off, in one day, two thousand persons: and the daily ravages of which amounted to upwards of one thousand. Famine was, as always, its attendant: and it was believed that the severity of the latter was increased by magical incantations.[2] The horrors of war were added: a predatory tribe of Arabs, to the number of thirty thousand, took up its quarters in the mountains to the east of Cairo, and thence ravaged the country, and in particular pillaged the large monastery of S. Mary, near Tanis.

Plague, famine, and war.

In the meantime the Jacobite Communion was deprived of its Patriarch: and the long vacancy of the See, and the disputes which arose with respect to the choice of a successor, must have contributed to strengthen the interests of the Catholics. The Prelates met, as usual: but it was impossi-

Death of Theodore, Feb. 1, 738.

cia being notoriously Monothelite: whereas it would have been easier to apply for consecration to the Catholic Bishops of Palestine. It may, however, be answered, that recourse would naturally be had to Tyre, as easier of access by water, and the first See of the Antiochene Diœcese. Renaudot, 206. Le Quien, ii. 459 C.

[1] Makrizi (§ 358,) speaks of the church called Albischarath, "of the Gospel," as if it had been the only one restored. This is certainly an error.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, 203.

ble to obtain an unanimous consent in favour of any candidate, and recourse was had to the decision of the lots. But all the three names were rejected, the schedule which bore the SAVIOUR'S name being drawn. In the meantime Kacem, the son of Obeid-allah, was summoned by Hischam to Damascus, to give an account of his government. As he was passing through the streets of Pelusium, the Bishops requested his licence to proceed to another election; but finding it impossible to extort the money which he had demanded for the *congé d'élire*, he refused it. On which Moses of Wissim is said to have prophesied that he would never return into Egypt: a prophecy which, if not made after, was fulfilled by the event; Kacem being deprived of all his wealth, and thrown into prison. He was succeeded by Hafiz, and the interrupted election was resumed. The minute accounts which Severus has left of it are not uninteresting, as throwing light on the character of the times. Twelve Bishops assembled at Cairo, and requested the *congé d'élire* from the new Governor. He replied, that they should first make the election, and that he would then use his own pleasure in confirming or annulling it. On this they returned to the church, but could come to no resolution that day. On the next, when they were re-assembled in the same place, the Protopope, or Arch-Priest of Alexandria, exhorted the Bishops to put an end to the question in dispute by consecrating the elected candidate. "Who is it," inquired Theodore, one of the Bishops present, "that the Presbyters of Alexandria consider worthy of the office?" "The name," replied the Protopope, "is contained on this schedule": and he handed it in. Theodore returned, that the consent of the Episcopal College was necessary to make the election valid. The Arch-Priest persisted, that it was the right of the Presbyters to elect; the Bishops had only to consecrate. Ten days were spent in similar disputes: and the contention grew serious, and threatened a schism among the Jacobites. The nominee of the Protopope was agreeable to the Alexandrians, and to the Bishops of Lower Egypt: those of Upper Egypt, on the contrary, were opposed to his election. Two Prelates who seem to have been respected for their age or learning, Moses of Wissim, and Peter of Parœout, but who had been detained by illness, were summoned: and the former,

Disputed election.

unable to ride, was borne on a litter to Cairo. Their presence, however, proved ineffectual: and the two parties, headed respectively by the Protopope of Alexandria, and Abraham, Bishop of Fayoum, were resolute, the former for, the latter against, the proposed candidate. The Bishop of Wissim, unable to tolerate the vehemence of the Alexandrians, rose from his couch, and after severely rebuking them, drove them from the church with his staff: and then endeavoured to bring about an unanimous election. Many candidates were proposed, but to no purpose, and the day terminated without any result. That night, a Deacon, who was apparently a Syncellus of the Bishop of Wissim, and in that capacity occupied a couch in the same chamber, suggested to him Chail, or Michael, a Priest of the Monastery of S. Macarius. On the following day, when there appeared as little likelihood of unanimity as before, Moses proposed that Monk: and his name was received with an unanimous shout of applause. Hafiz consented to his election: and a deputation was sent to the Abbat of S. Macarius, requesting him to send Chail to Misra for consecration. As the Legates were on their road, they met a deputation of Monks from S. Macarius, bound to Cairo, with the design of procuring a relaxation from the heavy tribute which Kacem had imposed on them, and among them Chail: and the two parties returned together to the Emir with great joy, who regarded the matter as shewing the special interposition of God. The Bishops and Patriarch elect went to Alexandria by the river: and the election was conducted with the usual formalities.[1]

Negotiations.

Chail I. (Michael) Patr. xlvi. A.D. 743.

No sooner was Chail established in his dignity, than Hafiz changed his conduct, and exacted the accustomed tribute with the greatest rigour. Many were compelled to sell, not only their cattle, but their children: and the Emir devised an ingenious method of rendering this persecution more dangerous to the uninstructed. "Remain Christians," said he, "in every other respect: only daily repeat the prayer that we use, and you shall be free from tribute." Tempted by apparently so simple an offer, many fell away from the Faith.

Many Jacobite Bishops forsook their Sees, and lay hid in monasteries: Moses of Wissim greatly distinguished himself by

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, pp. 207, 209.

exhorting those who wavered to constancy: and when he was told that twenty-four thousand had forsaken the faith of their forefathers, he still retained his vigour of mind, and comforted those around him by predicting that the persecution would have a speedy end.[1] At this time the affairs of the Caliphs were in great confusion: and the House of the Ommiadæ was tottering to its ruin. Hischam was succeeded by his son Wahd, whose impiety and debauchery raised a conspiracy against him, in which he lost his life, after reigning fourteen months[2]; Yezid, his successor, died of the plague after five months' sovereignty: Ibrahim, his brother, was dethroned in the same year in which he began to reign, by Meruan, the twenty-first Caliph, and fourteenth and last of the Ommiadæ. These civil commotions gave rise to disturbances in the provinces: and one Reja, a military robber, infested Egypt. Both he and Hafiz were put to death by a commander sent, with five thousand men, from Meruan.

Sixth persecution under Hafiz.

Succession of the Caliphate.

A.D. 748. The new Emir, Hassan, proved himself a friend to the Christians, more especially to the Jacobites; and Chail enjoyed his familiarity and confidence. That Patriarch was now occupied in assigning penitence to those who had fallen away in time of persecution. At this period, it seems to have been the same with that allotted to those who had apostatized to Paganism: afterwards it was considerably lessened in the Egyptian Church, so that six years' penitence was all that was required from those who had spontaneously apostatized, and three years for those, who through fear, or by tortures, had fallen away.[3]

Reception of Apostates.

Catholics and Jacobites appeal to the Emir. At this time we find the first open appeal to the Mahometans from both Catholics and Jacobites against each other. Whatever advantage had been previously, in this way, gained by either party, had been gained by an uncontradicted statement on the part of one or the other: as when Benjamin pleaded the cause of the Jacobites before Amrou, or Cosmas that of the Catholics before Hischam. But the relation of this affair, which we only possess through Jacobite historians, is so evidently mixed up with fables, and the arguments put into the mouth of the heretics so plausible, and those given to the Catholics so poor, as to shew that the whole is the work of a later age, and of an inter-

[1] Severus, p. 211. [2] Elmacin. p. 84, seq. [3] Cotel. Mon. Ecc. Gr. § 157.

ested historian. We are therefore left without a guide, to separate the true from the false.

The cause of dispute was the church of S. Mennas, in the Mareotis, alleged to have been famous for its miracles. The Emir commanded that both Cosmas and Chail should come before him, and defend their respective Creeds. Cosmas was accompanied by Constantine, a Bishop whose see is not named, but who is reputed to have been strongly opposed to Jacobitism; Chail by Theodore, Bishop of Misra: there were other Christians present of inferior dignity. The Emir, after hearing both sides, gave orders that their statements should be made in writing. Chail, after consulting with his friends, drew up a document in Coptic and Arabic: in which it is remarkable that they take upon themselves the name of Theodosians. In this they claim the succession from the orthodox Prelates before the Council of Chalcedon, some of whom had built the church which was the subject of dispute: they affirm Dioscorus to have been the staunch upholder of the truth against Pope Leo; they make the most of the hardships which they had suffered under the later Roman Emperors: and end with a compliment to the Mahometan conquerors, as their deliverers from Melchite persecution. The Catholics,[1] on the other hand, could not deny that appearances were against them: yet, if they were not the successors of S. Athanasius in fact, at least they were in doctrine: if their line could not be traced to S. Mark, it could be pursued to S. Mark's Master: as derivable through the Archbishop of Tyre from the Church of Antioch,

Arguments of both parties.

[1] In relating this, and similar disputes, we have given the arguments which, according to the Jacobite historians, were actually used by those of their own sect. But to have assigned to the Catholics the absurd and unworthy answers of which their adversaries accuse them, had been to write with the party spirit of a heretic. Two ways only remained to us. The one, to omit, on all such occasions, the arguments used on both sides, which would reduce the various accounts to little more than a detail of names, and deprive the reader of some curious information: the other to put into the mouth of the Catholic Prelates the arguments which they ought to have employed,—which they probably did use, —and which were certainly employed by the great opposers of the Jacobite heresy, S. Leo, S. Proterius, and others. If this be called a liberty, it would be difficult, we think, to point out any other course which, considering the unhappy state of Alexandrian history, would not be more deserving of that name.

and thence to the great founder of that Church. The Emir was not satisfied with either of these statements, and required others, which were prepared. Finally, the church of S. Mennas was adjudged to the Jacobites, on the ground that the finishing stroke had been put to it by the Patriarch Timothy.[1]

Contest between the Ommiadæ and Abbasidæ.

In the meantime the great contest for the Caliphate was carrying on between the Ommiadæ and the Abbasidæ; a contest not merely political, but also religious. The vices of the former house had won for them the hatred of all their subjects: and a rival arose against them in the person of Ibrahim, a descendant of Abbas, an uncle of Mahomet. This pretender enjoyed a precarious sovereignty for four years, when he was taken and put to death by Meruan: but his brother Abdallah, surnamed Abul-Abbas-Saffah, survived to avenge him. His party boldly denounced the whole race of the Ommiadæ as usurpers, who could never have reigned but for the murder of Ali, the fourth successor of Mahomet, who is by the followers of that impostor regarded as a Martyr, and whose sepulchre is a famous place of pilgrimage. Indeed the Persian Mahometans regard Ali as the only legitimate successor of Mahomet. At all events, the Abbasidæ were more nearly related to the founder of their religion than the Ommiadæ: and, which is of more importance to our history, they were successful. Meruan lost Syria and Palestine, and at length took refuge in Egypt.

Persecution renewed.

While Meruan was unsuccessfully engaged with his rival, Abdel-meleeh, the Emir, considered the opportunity a favourable one to enrich himself. Chail and Moses of Wissim were thrown into a dark dungeon, and with them more than three hundred of both sexes. The Patriarch and his suffragan excited them to penitence, and consoled them to the best of their abilities: and the former at length was allowed to collect through Upper Egypt[2] his own ransom. It would appear that subsequently Chail recovered the favour of the Emir: and enjoyed considerable influence among the Mahometans. But the tyranny of

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, pp. 214, 215.

[2] The romantic history which Arabian writers here give of the Nubian Kingdom, and the expedition undertaken for the sake of Chail's liberation, is so utterly unworthy of credit, as not to deserve relation: it only proves that the Nubians had before this period embraced the Jacobite heresy.

Abdel-melech, and the intestine convulsions of the Caliphate, tempted the Egyptian Christians to throw off the yoke. The Thebais arose in arms, and the inhabitants of Osiout, the ancient Lycopolis, especially distinguished themselves. Both Patriarchs appeared among the insurgents: and the campaign opened with bright prospects for the Christian forces. Abdel-melech drew together his troops, and marched against the rebels, but was defeated with great loss. At this juncture, Meruan, in his flight from the victorious armies of Abdallah, entered Egypt. The Coptic forces, encouraged by their late victory, and nowhit dismayed by the presence of a new foe, entrenched themselves on an inaccessible eminence, and obtained considerable advantages against the enemy. But, in a chance attack, both Patriarchs were taken prisoners, and brought before Meruan. Cosmas ransomed his life by the payment of a thousand pieces of gold: Chail, who had nothing to give, was in greater danger. He was severely beaten, and about to be beheaded, when the Caliph bethought himself of a more politic use which might be made of his prisoner. He was employed to negotiate a truce with the insurgents by letter: and in the meantime the troops of Meruan overran that part of the country, pillaging, devastating, and sacking: the monasteries, in particular, afforded free scope to their avarice. The Arabic writers record a singular story of the manner in which a nun of great beauty preserved herself from dishonour,—a manner shewing no little confusion in the moral ideas of her who perpetrated, and of those who praise it. To the soldiers whose prize she was, she affirmed that she was possessed of an ointment, which rendered her incapable of receiving any wound, and offered to prove its virtues. Eager to see its marvellous effects, they assented: she presented her neck to the sword, and commanded them to strike: and, it is needless to say, her head was severed from her body.[1]

The Christians take up arms.

Cosmas and Chail prisoners.

As if to make still more wretched the already miserable condition of Egypt, the victorious armies of Abdallah entered it from the East. Meruan, infuriated by his successive losses, gave orders that Misra should be set on fire, and Chail brought before him. The Christian insurgents, probably hopeless of

The Christians join the Abbasidæ.

[1] Severus, p. 226. Elmacinus, p. 99, tells the story differently.

prevailing by their unassisted efforts, and despairing of any succour from Constantinople, had joined the Abbasidæ: and the armies of the rival Caliphs were encamped on opposite sides of the Nile. Moses of Wissim, and the Jacobite Patriarch, were tortured in sight of the allied forces by the cowardly Meruan, who trusted to the safeguard of the river, against the revenge of the Coptic Christians. On the following day, the two Prelates, in company with other Bishops and Ecclesiastics, to the number of eleven, among whom was John the Deacon, to whom we are indebted for this history, were again brought before the falling Caliph. Various instruments of torture lay in the presence-chamber, and Meruan, unable to avenge himself on the Christians under arms on the opposite side of the stream, promised himself the satisfaction of harrowing their feelings, and glutting his own thirst for blood, by inflicting a terrible death on his captives. The Bishop of Wissim, expecting nothing short of destruction both for himself and his companions, requested the Patriarch to pronounce over them the Prayer of Absolution, according to the Canon of the Coptic Church. It will not be amiss, as this form is of no small note in Egyptian Ecclesiastical History, to present the reader with a translation of the prayer, never perhaps uttered in a more striking situation than now; by a Patriarch, in the midst of persecuting infidels, separated by the broad Nile from all hope of safety, yet by his firmness encouraging the Christian troops on the further side, and cheered by the knowledge that they were spectators of his courage, and would, if need were, sympathize with his conflict. Surely if heresy could ever be effaced by a Baptism of Blood, it was by such an one as that for which Chail now prepared himself. The prayer then pronounced by him was as follows:—

Imminent danger of Chail:

he pronounces the Prayer of Absolution;

"O Lord Jesu Christ, the Only-begotten Son, the Word of God the Father, Who, by Thy salutary and life-giving Passion, hast burst in sunder all the chains of our sins; Who didst breathe on the faces of Thine Holy Apostles, saying unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained; Thou hast also, O Lord, made choice by the same Thine Apostles, of them that should always discharge the Office of the Priesthood in Thy Holy Church, to the end that they may

remit sins upon the earth, and loose and relax all the bonds of iniquity. We pray and beseech Thy Goodness, O Thou lover of men, for Thy servants our fathers, our brethren, and our own infirmity, who now bow down our heads before Thy Holy Glory: shew us Thy loving-kindness, and burst all the chains of our sins. And if we have offended against Thee by knowledge or ignorance, or by hardness of heart, by word, by deed, or by our weakness, do Thou, O LORD, Which knowest the frailty of man, Which art gracious, and the lover of men, give unto us the remission of our sins: bless us and purify us, absolve us and all Thy people: fill us with Thy fear, and direct us into Thy Holy and gracious Will; for Thou art our GOD, and to Thee with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, all honour and glory is now and evermore to be ascribed. Thy servants who this day have the office of the ministry, the Priests, the Deacons, and Clergy, all the people and my own weakness, are absolved by the mouth of the HOLY TRINITY, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST: and from the mouth of the one, only, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church: by the mouth of the Twelve Apostles, and by the mouth of the wise Mark, Apostle and Martyr: by the mouth also of the Patriarch Saint Severus, and of our holy Doctor Dioscorus; of S. John Chrysostom, S. Cyril, S. Basil, S. Gregory, of the three hundred also that met at Nicæa, of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople, of the hundred at Ephesus, and by the mouth of my humility, who am a sinner: for blessed and full of glory is Thy Holy Name, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, world without end. Amen."

When this prayer had been pronounced by the Patriarch, Abdallah, the son of Meruan, advancing to his father, represented the impolicy of the act which he meditated. "If we irritate," said he, "the Copts by murdering one whom they consider as a father, we insure a still more powerful reinforcement to the army of Abdallah; and we are equally certain of rendering the whole body of Christians, who may now be prevented from enlisting under his standard, our deadly enemies. Victory will thus become more difficult, from the resistance of the first: flight more dangerous, from the hatred of the second." Meruan was not so absolutely blinded by his passion, as to be incapable of discerning the expediency of his son's advice: and the Ecclesiastics

but is remanded to prison.

were remanded to prison. Loaded with chains, they were cast into a dark and loathsome dungeon, where they were animated by the exhortations and predictions of Moses of Wissim, who appears to have exercised a powerful influence over his brethren: prayer was also made, day and night, by the Monks of S. Macarius, for their liberation.[1]

A.D. 750. Defeat and death of Meruan.

The two armies, which were to decide the mastership of the Caliphate, at length met: and Meruan received a total defeat.[2] Thus ended, in its fourteenth prince, the line of the Ommiadæ: and Damascus ceased to be the capital of the empire. The conquered family still maintained themselves in Spain. Meruan himself was taken prisoner and beheaded. The Prelates were immediately released from prison: and Abdallah, now recognized as Caliph, gave orders, that to prevent any accidents or violence which might occur in the onward march of his victorious army, the Christians should carry the Cross as a mark of their religion, and paint it on the doors of their houses. Their tributes were diminished, and their condition became far more tolerable. But this happy change only continued for four years: the same treatment was then renewed which they had previously experienced, and the revolt of the Thebais against Meruan, and the possibility of a similar event again occurring, were alleged as a reason for this conduct.

The political state of Egypt and the whole Caliphate was not altered by the change of masters. The Caliphs, as before, held the dignity of Vicars of the Prophet: as such, they were supreme in all matters, both Ecclesiastical and Civil: they were publicly prayed for in the mosques: their head was struck on coins: and every legal proceeding was carried on in their name.

State of the Church under the Abbasidæ.

They still appointed Emirs in the various provinces, (excepting Spain,) removable at their pleasure: and a part of the tribute collected in the different subject countries was claimed by the treasury of the Caliph.

The state of religion, with a few slight differences, remained the same. The principal point in dispute between the families of the Ommiadæ and Abbasidæ, was, as we have previously remarked, the character of Ali: he, of course was now venerated as a Martyr, whereas, under the late dynasty, his name had been

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 226. [2] Gibbon, x. 32.

at certain seasons publicly execrated. The colour of the banner, and coverings of the pulpit in the mosques had hitherto been white: the Abbasidæ employed black: and hence, by Greek historians, are called Maurophori.[1]

Reputed miracle.

Shortly after the accession of Abdallah, an event occurred, which, if not to be blindly received as true, at least deserves relation. In order to produce a crop at all, it was necessary that the Nile should rise to the height of fifteen cubits: on the present occasion it only rose fourteen. It happened that the Prelates were, according to the ancient Canon, which they still observed, met for the Autumnal Synod; and with the Patriarch at their head, they assembled in the great church of S. Peter at Misra, and thence, with an infinite multitude of people, moved in procession to the bank of the river, praying for a higher rise of the waters, and singing *Kyrie Eleison*. They continued in prayer from morning twilight until nine in the forenoon: when, to the astonishment of Jews and Mahometans, the Nile rose another cubit. The Governor, though glad of the occurrence, was unwilling that it should redound to the glory of the Christians; and, calling together those of his own religion, he exhorted them to join in prayer for the same blessing,—thus hoping that the credit of the miracle might be possessed, or at least shared, by the false prophet. While they were thus engaged, a report was brought from the Nilometer, that the water, which on the preceding day had risen a cubit, had now sunk to its ordinary level. The Emir, astonished at this intelligence, gave orders that no public prayers should be offered either by Christian or Mahometan, and the water still remained stationary. At length he permitted the former again to try the effect of their supplications: the Nile began to rise again, and did not stop till it attained its usual altitude of seventeen cubits.[2] The Emir, struck with wonder, diminished the tributes imposed on the Christians; and it would appear that both Catholics and Jacobites enjoyed profound tranquillity for some years.

Chail employed the respite thus obtained in visiting his Diœcese; and it is surprising to learn that, after an interval of nearly four centuries and a half, he should have found some remains of the Meletian schism. Its partizans are said to have

[1] Renaudot, p. 217. Gibbon, x. 30.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 231.

been imbued with Arian principles, but as this was the common charge brought by the Jacobites against the supporters of the Catholic Faith, we may perhaps believe that in their Creed these schismatics did not differ from that of the Church. They dwelt in monasteries, rocks, and the neighbouring habitations, and amounted, in the settlement which Chail visited, to the number of three thousand. They also existed in the Diœcese of Wissim, as John the Deacon informs us that he was assured by Moses the Bishop.[1]

Flourishing state of the Jacobites.

This was, if we may believe Jacobite writers, one of the golden times of that sect: many of the Prelates are said to have been eminently learned, among whom Moses of Wissim holds the first place; and not a few miracles are attributed to them, probably by the fraud or superstition of their own historians. There was, however, a schism between the heretical Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, on the following occasion. One Isaac, Bishop of Harran, had ingratiated himself with the Caliph Abdallah, who rewarded him with the Antiochene Patriarchate. As the ancient discipline, which forbade translations, was still in vigour among the Jacobites, and as it had lately been confirmed in the Diœcese of Antioch, (in a Synod holden under John II., the fourteenth Ob. A.D. 754. Jacobite Patriarch,[2] by whose death the See was now vacant,) great opposition was raised to the promotion of Isaac. But,

Schism between Antioch and Alexandria.

as the Caliph's mandate gave leave that whoever should resist might be put to death, Isaac availed himself of it to procure the murder of two of his Metropolitans, who persisted that, far from being the rightful possessor of the See, he was worthy, according to the decree of the Synod, of an anathema. Having perpetrated this barbarity he sent, as usual, synodal letters to Chail of Alexandria, requesting his Communion. Abdallah, probably informed by Isaac that some difficulty might arise, sent at the same time orders to the Emir, that if the Synodal Epistles were not received by Chail, the latter should be sent into Syria to himself. Chail informed the messengers that on so grave a question he could determine nothing without the concurrence of a Council, to which he therefore

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 231.

[2] Le Quien, ii. 1366, c. d. Asseman, B. O. ii. 338. Elmacinus, p. 98. Asseman, instead of Abdallah, gives Abugiaffar Almansor.

summoned all the Bishops both of Lower and of Upper Egypt. There was at first some difference of opinion in this assembly, in which John the Deacon (whose history is here, as throughout all this Patriarchate, followed by Severus,) was present. On the one hand it was urged, that not only ought the violation of the Canons, of which Isaac had been guilty, but the heinousness also of his crimes, to separate him from the Coptic Communion: on the other it was argued, that the Caliph's mandate plainly proved what would be his sentiments, in case Isaac's request were refused; that the tranquillity which the Egyptian Church now enjoyed was not lightly to be perilled; that no point of orthodoxy was involved; and that this was one of the times when a little wrong might be done, to prevent a much greater mischief. At length, when a month had been consumed in deliberation, it was agreed to leave the whole matter to the discretion of Chail; and his reply was to the effect that neither sword, fire, wild beasts, nor exile, should compel him to infringe the Canons, or to annul an anathema lawfully incurred. The Legates from Antioch demanded that, in this case, the commands of the Caliph should be fulfilled, and Chail sent into Syria. The Emir, however, who, since the supernatural rise of the Nile, had shewn himself friendly to the Christians, replied that there was no hurry in the business; that it was necessary to deliberate before the journey was taken, and that when the Patriarch was prepared, he should be sent. The limit allowed by him at length expired: Chail, though now infirm, with his inseparable friend, Moses of Wissim, and John the Deacon, had prepared themselves for the journey, and were on the point of setting out, when news was brought of the death of the intruder, Isaac. The Legates, who were the Metropolitans of Damascus and Edessa,[1] hastily departed; and communion with Antioch was not restored during the life of Chail, who survived Isaac about eleven years.[2]

Council of Misra. A.D. 755.

Firmness and danger of Chail.

March 12, A.D. 766.*

[1] Renaudot says, the Metropolitans of Damascus and Emesa. But Emesa, or Emissa, was only an Episcopal See under the Metropolitan of Damascus: whereas Edessa was the Metropolis, both ecclesiastical and civil, of the Province of Osrhoene.

[2] Renaudot, 235.

* Or 767, according to Sollerius, p. 80*. He is celebrated by the Ethiopians on the 12th of March.

Minas I., Patr. xlvii. A.D. 766.

On the death of Chail, Minas, or Mennas, a Priest and Monk of S. Macarius, was elected to supply his place. His Episcopate commenced propitiously, and the Jacobite Communion began to rise from the depression in which the late persecutions had left it. But this state of things was soon destroyed by the wickedness of one Peter, a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria. Irritated by the refusal of Minas to raise him to the Episcopate,[1] he left Egypt, ingratiated himself with the Caliph Almansor, the second of the family of the Abbasidæ, and at length returned with the orders of the latter that he should be elected Patriarch. He was an avaricious and bloody prince: and it is recorded that by one of those who principally contributed to raise his family to the Caliphate, Abumuslem, six hundred thousand lives were sacrificed. Bagdad was founded by Almansor, in A.D. 762: and thenceforth became the seat of the Caliphs, and the head of the empire. The Emir, who had been well disposed to Minas, summoned him to Misra, and allowed him to assemble a Council for the purpose of deciding whether the mandate of the Caliph should be obeyed. The synod assembled in the great church of Misra on a Sunday: when to their astonishment, the Deacon Peter, supported by an armed band of soldiers, entered the Sanctuary in Patriarchal vestments, and began the Liturgy. Moses of Wissim, and Mennas of Tanboua rushed upon him, and by main strength expelled him from the church. But this action only injured their cause: the assembled Bishops were loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison, where they remained for some days, looking for nothing better than death. In the meantime it would appear that Peter instilled into the Emir's mind the belief, that Minas was possessed of the art of transmuting baser substances into gold. The Emir summoned him, and demanded that all the sacred vessels in use throughout Egypt should be given up to the Caliph: Minas replied, that such had been the depredation made by Mahometans and Heretics, that he could not speak positively as to the value of the Church-plate still existing: but that at Alexandria, its poverty was so great as to render the use of

Peter the Deacon excites the Caliph,

and the Emir against Minas.

[1] The accounts of Severus (Renaudot, p. 237) and Elmacinus, (p. 104), differ in some particulars. We have endeavoured to reconcile both without doing any great violence to either.

chalices of wood or glass indispensable. The Emir's next inquiry was for the book which contained the mystery of the philosopher's stone: Minas endeavoured to disabuse him of this belief. He and the other Jacobite Bishops were conducted to the docks, where they laboured, exposed to the heat of the sun, while engaged in working in the construction of ships: and this punishment lasted for a year. But in the meantime, Peter, presuming on the influence which he enjoyed with the Caliph, behaved with insolence towards the Emir, and threatened to complain of his administration of affairs: but his arrogance was punished by his being thrown into prison, where he remained for three years; and Minas and his friends returned to Alexandria. A new Emir, having been appointed over Egypt, inquired at the beginning of his government into the character and condition of those whom he found prisoners, among whom the case of Peter came under consideration. The revengeful Deacon expressed a desire to be sent to the Caliph, to lay before him an account of the mal-administration of the late Governor: and the Emir, probably not unwilling that the faults of his predecessor should be exposed or aggravated, dispatched him, according to his request, to the Caliphal Court. Arrived there, he was received with the same distinguished favour as before; obtained, as a mark of honour, the name of Abulhari, and procured letters of the most ample authority, by which he proposed, on his return to Egypt, to avenge himself upon Minas and the other Jacobites. But while on his road thither, news was received of the death of the Caliph: and his power and schemes alike fell to the ground. Struck with remorse, he applied to several Bishops to be admitted to penitence, but in vain: and this is a rare instance of its denial. He perished miserably, shortly after the death of Minas, of whom history has recorded no other particulars.

His imprisonment,

liberation,

and miserable end.

Death of Minas. Jan. 19.* A.D. 775.

* Compare Renaudot, p. 239, with Sollerius, p. 80*.

SECTION V.

THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY.

It is now time that we take a view of one of the saddest controversies that ever agitated the Church, — the Iconoclastic dispute. It is true that Alexandria was but little disturbed by it, yet as Cosmas was actively concerned in promoting the honour of Images, we may not pass over a page from which every ecclesiastical historian would willingly turn.

Rise of the reverence paid to Images.

The rise and progress of Images in churches, and the honour due to them, is a subject on which it would here be out of place to enter. It does not, however, appear that any particular attention was paid to the question, till after the Mahometan conquests had brought the observances of the Church, and the laws of the Impostor, into contact with each other. It was then found, that in two principal points the Mussulmans considered themselves opposed to the Christian practices: the one, in asserting the Unity of the Deity, the other in abhorring the use of Images. And it is a remarkable thing that, on a first view, the Infidels would appear to have had the better of the Catholics in both these respects. To a heathen, perhaps also to a schismatic, the excessive honour already paid to departed Saints must have appeared like idolatry; and hence the dogmatical manner in which, by infidel historians, the plain and sublime doctrine of the Unity of the Deity is said to have been, as it were, reproclaimed by the Mussulman conquerors to countries where it was obscured by the multitude of Saints to whom adoration was paid. Nay, members of the Church, though not adopting language so profane, have allowed themselves to speak of this doctrine, as if the acknowledging and upholding it were one source of the success of the followers of Mahomet, not in a political, but in a moral point of view. But it must be remembered, that if, as taught by them, it was opposed to the Invocation of Saints, it was even more so to the doctrine of the Ever Blessed Trinity. To the former, Islamism has something parallel, in the honour attributed

to Mahomet and to Ali: to the latter it has no approximation. With respect to the worship[1] of Images, the case was somewhat different; inasmuch as some abuse had already mingled with the benefit to be derived by the ignorant from that which their advocates call painted history.

Characteristics of the two parties.

It cannot be denied that the whole history of the Iconoclasts is most melancholy. All that was holy or excellent in the Church was opposed to them: the Emperors and Prelates who supported them were for the most part men of scandalous lives: the profanity which they introduced under the pretence of zeal against idolatry, the most horrible: they persecuted to the death those who would not subscribe to it: their victims suffered with a constancy worthy of the purest ages of the Church. And yet, we cannot but constantly feel, while we allow the right premises from which the latter argued, that their conclusions were unwarrantable. Whatever has been used from the earliest ages of the Church must, they said, be Catholic: the worship of Images has been so used, and therefore is to be defended as a part of Catholic Tradition. They did not know that the minor, in their syllogism, was false; and there are many excuses for their not having done so. The ignorance which prevailed as to the genuine and supposititious writings of the Fathers was not their fault, but their misfortune. We are able to perceive at once that most of their alleged authorities are fabrications of a later age: they received them as undoubtedly genuine. Nor can it be wondered at, if the horrible irreverence with which they beheld the holiest things treated by their opponents, made them carry their sentiments to an undue extreme. It must always be remembered also that Iconoclasticism was an offshoot of Mahometanism, and therefore hateful, as well in its origin as in its progress. At the

[1] The reader is requested to observe that here, and in other places, the word worship is not used in an offensive sense; but merely to express, in the easiest manner, the reverential honour paid as now, so then, in many branches of the Church, to images. The use of the word in our Marriage Service amply proves that it may be employed in an indifferent sense. It therefore, in these pages, neither implies that the Church has ever either taught or allowed idolatry, nor that ignorant individuals have not approached fearfully near to it. Anyhow, the absurd word *cultus*, which has lately become fashionable among a certain class of writers, had better give place to its more plain-spoken and English synonym.

same time, none will deny that the Second Nicene Council, which contained the developement of the views of the upholders of Images, has, in its effects, been one of the most mischievous events of which Church history treats.

A.D. 726. The seeds of the contention had thus been sown long before; and a very slight circumstance, as is frequently the case, called them forth into life. A thick smoke which arose from the sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia, in the Archipelago, was regarded by the Emperor Leo as a token of the Divine displeasure. He persuaded himself that the honour shewn to Images was the cause of GOD'S anger; and, in consequence, determined on suppressing their use in the churches of his empire. He further asserted, that the very making of Images was an act of idolatry, and found some Prelates weak or wicked enough to uphold him in this opinion. S. Germanus of Constantinople resisted his designs, endeavouring to point out the distinction between Image-worship and that sin with which the Emperor confounded it. This opposition induced the Emperor to deprive him of his Patriarchate; and in the violent proceedings which followed with respect to the defacing and removing certain Images, ten persons lost their lives at Constantinople. Leo, an excessively ignorant man, destroyed a library shortly afterwards; commanded that all figures painted on churches should be effaced, took down all the Images on which he could lay hands, and burnt them in the middle of the city. Many more persons, clerks and laics, lost their lives on this occasion. The tidings were received with extreme indignation in Italy: the statues of the Emperor, — for this relic of paganism still remained,—were thrown down and trampled under foot; and Gregory III., who, in the midst of the civil commotions, succeeded his predecessor of the same name, debated the point at length with Leo in two Epistles. A Council of ninety-three Bishops, assembled at Rome, with the Pope at their head, excommunicated all persons who destroyed or profaned ecclesiastical Images. The Emperor, in revenge, confiscated all that part of the Patrimony of S. Peter, which lay within his own dominions; and commenced a persecution against the opposite party, abstaining, however, from putting them to death, lest they should be honoured as Martyrs. S. John Damascene appeared

Leo, the first Iconoclastic Emperor

Troubles in Italy.

A.D. 732.

at this time, as the principal opponent of the Iconoclasts; and from him we have three discourses on the subject, at the end of each of which is a Catena of Authorities. His own language, fervid and eloquent, has won for him the title of the Doctor of Christian Art; but of the authorities in his Catena, some are supposititious, some so far-fetched as to render it difficult of belief that they could be seriously cited, and those which are to the point are taken from late authors.

Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, a barbarous and brutal prince, succeeded his father Leo, and trod in his steps. His successes against the Mussulmans, distracted by the civil contentions of the Abbasidæ and Ommiadæ, determined him to renew his efforts against Image-worship. For this purpose he assembled at Constantinople a Council of three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops; hoping, perhaps, by its numbers, exceeding that of any Œcumenical Council except at Chalcedon, to make up for the fact, that none of the Patriarchates were represented in it; for Constantinople was at this time vacant, by the death of Anastasius, intruded on the See at the exile of Germanus.

Great Council at Constantinople, A.D. 754.

Their definition of faith, which contains the most loathsome flattery to Constantine, condemns pictures and Images on two grounds. In the first place, say they, the act of making them establishes the error of Nestorius, in separating the Persons of our Saviour, at the same time that it favours that of Dioscorus, which confounds His Natures. But as this reasoning did not apply to representations of the Blessed Virgin and other Saints, they argued that the Church stood, as it were, between Judaism and Paganism: it rejected the bloody sacrifices of the one, and the fabrication of idols which disgraced the other. Therefore they forbade, under pain of an anathema, all persons to make, adorn, conceal, or worship, whether in churches, or private houses, any Image: and S. Germanus, and S. John Damascene were anathematized by name. This decree, when published through the provinces, was the signal for the general destruction of all pictures and Images; even chalices and other vessels for the Holy Eucharist were not spared by the sacrilegious Iconoclasts. A.D. 759. Shortly after, to avoid persecution, all the Monks left Constantinople. In fact, the hatred evinced by the Emperor against them, amounted to little short of monomania: and the cruelties

practised upon them are almost incredible. Many of them were punished with death for their resolute adherence to the cause of Image worship. Of these Stephen, commonly called S. Stephen the Younger, was the principal.

A.D. 767. Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, for Images.

Four years before this, the three Patriarchs, Theodore of Jerusalem, Theodore of Antioch, and Cosmas, by mutual agreement, anathematized, on the Feast of Pentecost, Cosmas, Bishop of Epiphania, in Syria, who had proclaimed himself an Iconoclast. Theodore of Jerusalem, in a Synodal letter to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, undertook the defence of Images: and they, after signing it, sent it to Rome, as their confession of faith in this matter. By these two events Alexandria became implicated in the Iconoclastic controversy.

The date of Cosmas's death is uncertain.[1] He was on friendly terms[2] with Rome, as appears from one of Pope Paul's letters.

Politianus, Patr. XXXIX. A.D. 775, circ. A.M. 486.

It proves the obscurity with which the history of the True Church of Alexandria is involved, that the name of the successor of Cosmas should be disputed. Some will have it, that it was Athanasius. It is certain that in the fourth Session of the Second Council of Nicæa, holden the first of October, 787, a document was read, purporting to be an account of a miraculous Image of our SAVIOUR at Berytus, written[3] by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. The Fathers of that Council were so unversed in Ecclesiastical criticism, as to believe it the composition of the great S. Athanasius: later writers have imagined a

[1] Pagi xiii. 147. Le Quien, ii. 459.

[2] Baronius, xiii. 33.

[3] It is a difficult, but not very important question, who was the author of this history, which appears wholly destitute of truth. Three opinions have been advanced: 1. That it was Athanasius, the successor of Peter Mongus: or, 2. Some Egyptian Bishop of that name, who, in the long vacancy of the Catholic See of Alexandria, acted as Vicar of the Patriarchate: or, lastly, a Bishop of Alexandria in Cilicia Secunda, of which Anazarbus was the Metropolis. See Le Quien, ii. 461 B. Pagi speaks of Athanasius unhesitatingly, as the successor of Cosmas, (xiii. 147.) It is a curious thing that the name of Politian should have narrowly escaped being lost. Eutychius calls him Balatian: a name neither Greek nor Egyptian, and evidently corrupt. His name, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, does not occur in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa: it was found by Renaudot in the Græco-barbarian epitome of histories of Matthew Cigala, and in the life of S. Tarasius of Constantinople, § 19. Renaudot, 240. Le Quien, ii. 462, A B. Le Quien places his accession in 766, A.D. Pagi, about 780, A.D.

second Bishop of that name, and introduced him here: but neither opinion is tenable. He is said to have held the See forty-six years: but this account can hardly be reconciled with other dates.

Either immediately after, or, which is as probable, before his election, John was chosen by the Jacobites to supply the place of Minas: and his election is the first example extant of that appeal to the Judgment of God by the *Heikeliet*, which we have already noticed.[1] Nearly a year appears to have elapsed between the death of Minas, and the election of his successor. He availed himself of the comparative calm which his Communion enjoyed, to restore the churches; and Mark the Deacon, his successor, was entrusted with the work. It happened, however, that a Catholic, Yuçab or Joseph by name, was in possession of the Caliph's confidence as a skilful physician: he ungenerously represented to that prince, that the buildings of John were erected on ground belonging to the Caliph, and the Jacobite Patriarch was condemned to a large fine. Undeterred, however, by this, he prosecuted his labours; and in five years completed the great church of S. Michael the Archangel, at Alexandria: a building better known in later times as the church of Penitence. A famine by which the land was afflicted, gave John the power of strengthening his influence, by displaying at once his riches and his liberality.

John IV. Patr. xlviii. A.D. 776?

Election by the Heikeliet.

It is now time to take up the history of the Iconoclasts. The persecution of Image-worshippers continued during the lifetime of Constantine Copronymus: and that against the Monks, the chief supporters of the ordinary practice, was equally severe. His son Leo, the fourth of that name, succeeded: he at first shewed respect to the Images, and chose the principal Bishops from the Monastic orders, but he soon exhibited the same principles with respect to the first, which had influenced his father. On his death, Constantine his son, a child of ten years old, succeeded to the purple: but his mother, Irene, in reality directed the government. On a vacancy of the See of Constantinople, Tarasius, secretary to the Emperor, whom his zeal for Images has caused to be reckoned among the Saints, was raised to the Patriarchate. His first care was to make prepara-

Leo against Images.

A.D. 780. Constantine and Irene.

[1] Renaudot, p. 241.

tions for the assembly of an Œcumenical Council to decide the question as to the honour due to Images: he had obliged the Emperor and the Empress to promise their consent to this step, before he consented to accept the dignity which they eagerly pressed upon him. He wrote to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with his profession of faith: requesting at the same time that each of them would send two legates to the Synod which it was proposed to convene. His letter to Pope Adrian contained the same profession and the same request. The latter professed himself highly gratified with the orthodox confession of Tarasius: but took exception at two points. The one, that he had been elevated from the condition of a simple laic to the Episcopate: the other, that he assumed the title of Œcumenical Patriarch. However, notwithstanding these subjects of offence, Adrian sent two legates, as he had been requested.

S. Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

The deputies of Tarasius to the Eastern Thrones were less fortunate than his commissioners to Rome. Arrived in Palestine, they were prevailed on by the Monks to abandon their enterprise as useless, and fraught with the most imminent danger to the Churches which they wished to consult. The Mussulmans, they said, would view the whole proceeding with dislike and aversion: the Patriarch of Jerusalem was already exiled for having given occasion to a slight suspicion; and what would be the consequence to those of Alexandria and Antioch were the measure persisted in, it was impossible to tell. The deputies were extremely unwilling to return without having accomplished their purpose: it was indispensable, they urged, that the Council should be held: in order that it might be Œcumenical, the Eastern Thrones must be consulted, and in what manner was this to be effected? In this difficulty their advisers cast their eyes on two Monks, one of whom, John, had been Syncellus of the Patriarch of Antioch: the other, Thomas, had enjoyed the same office either with Cosmas or with Politian. The latter had also been Abbat of S. Arsenius in Egypt: he was afterwards raised to the Archbishopric of Thessalonica.[1] These two Ecclesiastics were persuaded to assume the style and title of Legates of the East: Thomas representing the See of Alexandria, John, those

Legates of Constantinople in the East.

[1] See Le Quien, ii. 43. Theophan. p. 389.

of Antioch and Jerusalem. The deputies from Constantinople, glad to have succeeded in procuring at least a nominal commission from the Patriarchal Thrones, and perhaps not unwilling to be spared the fatigues and dangers of a longer journey, returned with the two Syncelli to Tarasius. They found that the Emperor's letters of Convocation had already assembled a large number of Bishops at Constantinople; among these, however, a great proportion were Iconoclasts, and the laity were prejudiced in favour of the latter. On the return of Constantine and Irene from Thrace, the Council was opened, on the first of August, in the church of the Holy Apostles.

Council convoked.

Troubles at Constantinople; A.D. 786.

But such was the fury of the soldiery, that the Prelates were compelled to desist from their intentions, after celebrating Mass in the presence of the troops, who threatened to put them to death. The city was not in a state to allow the resumption of the Synod, that winter: the Bishops retired to their several Dioceses: the Legates of the Pope returned to Sicily: but Thomas and John remained, by the special order of the Empress, at Constantinople. The seditious regiments, who having served under Constantine Copronymus, were inveterately possessed with his sentiments, having been broken, and their place supplied with troops from Thrace, letters of Convocation were again issued, but the place of assembly was fixed at Nicæa: that city probably being chosen, not only as being situated at a convenient distance from Constantinople, near enough to render the Emperor's journey thither, or that of the Fathers to him, easy, and not too near to expose the synod to danger from any Iconoclast outbreak in the Imperial City, but also as a city of happy omen, from the immortal glory of its First Œcumenical Council. Thither accordingly the Prelates journeyed in the autumn: and the First Session was held in the church of the Everlasting Wisdom, on the first of October. There were present three hundred and seventy-seven[1] Bishops, the Emperor's commissioners, and many Abbats and Monks. The legates of the Pope are named first: then Tarasius: and next to him, John and Thomas, Legates and Vicars of the Apostolic Thrones of the East. Why John, who represented the Churches inferior in dignity, should be

Second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787.

[1] This is the account of Photius. Psellus makes the number 350, and the Menology of Basil 367.

named first, does not appear: unless it be, that the two jointly acted as Vicars of the whole East, and that John was individually superior to Thomas in reputation or in age.

In the melancholy proceedings of this Synod we are little interested. The Iconoclast Bishops were received to penitence in the first Session: in the second, the letter of the Pope to Tarasius was read, but with the omission of those parts, such as the refusal of the title of Œcumenical Patriarch to the Bishop of Constantinople, which were considered likely to give offence, or to injure the influence of the President: in the third, the letter of Tarasius to the Patriarchs of the East, and the Synodal Epistle of Theodore of Jerusalem to Theodore of Antioch, and Cosmas of Alexandria, which we have already mentioned: in the fourth, the authorities of the Fathers were consulted: in the fifth, the sentiments of various heretics, as to the subject in question, discussed; and at its conclusion an Image, at the request of the Roman Legate, was brought into the Council, and there publicly adored: the sixth was occupied in the refutation of the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople: in the seventh, the definition of faith was proposed, the principal Iconoclasts anathematized, the names of S. John Damascene and S. Germanus of Constantinople honoured with acclamations of eternal memory, and the Synodal letters written, the one to the Emperor, the other to the Clergy of Constantinople, as the city most interested in the controversy. In these the Fathers draw the celebrated distinction between the honour which may be paid to the Images, which they express by the Greek verbs προσκυνεῖν and ἀσπάζεσθαι, from the adoration of λατρεία, which is due to God alone. The definition of faith was signed by the legates, and by three hundred and five Bishops, or deputies of Bishops. The eighth Session, which by some is not reckoned as such, was held at Constantinople, in the palace of Magnaura, and consisted of little else than an interchange of compliments between the Emperor and the Fathers.[1]

[1] We may be allowed to make a few observations as to the real character of this Council. It cannot be denied, that at the present day both the Eastern and the Latin Churches receive it as Œcumenical, and it can as little be denied, that were it in reality so, we should be bound to that adoration of Images which it enjoins, and the deniers of which it anathematizes. If its decrees are to be received as the voice of the Church Catholic, it would be

It is certain that Politian approved,[1] although he was not present at, the Council of Nicæa; and the controversy, which had never much disturbed Africa, may henceforth be considered as terminated in the Diœcese of Alexandria.

[1] S. Theodore Stud. Ep. 18. Fleury, x. 250.

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difficult to clear our own Church from the charge of heresy. But if, on the other hand, it were only a large provincial Synod, then we have as much right to demur to its decrees, as the Roman Church has to reject those of the Council *in Trullo*, or the Eastern to object to some part of the Canons of Sardica.

In the first place, we may remark that the Second Council of Nicæa wants one mark of authenticity, shared, according to the more general belief by the six—according to the opinions which an English Churchman must necessarily embrace by the first five, Councils: its recognition as Œcumenical by a later Council undoubtedly so. For, although the Roman Church reckons many subsequent Synods Œcumenical, in which it has been recognised, we are joined by the whole Eastern Church in pronouncing them merely general Councils of the West: and if some of the Greeks consider the Council held at Constantinople in 879 and 880, the eighth universal Synod, the Roman Church applies that title to the Council holden in the same city ten years before, and the decision of which was precisely its reverse. So that no dogmatic confirmation of the Council of Nicæa has been given by the Universal Church assembled in Synod.

Secondly, the Eastern Church was not fairly represented. Of its four Patriarchal Thrones, three appeared neither personally, nor by legates. We do not accuse the Monks of Palestine, nor the so-called Vicars of those three Sees, of intentional fraud; neither can we allow that the difficulty of consulting the Third and FourthBishops of the world, either rendered their consent unnecessary, or legalised the fiction employed to represent it. And if these Patriarchs were not represented, neither was their place supplied by Bishops from their respective Diœceses. Such as were present in the Council were almost entirely confined to those of Greece, Sicily, Thrace, the Archipelago, and that part of Asia Minor which obeyed the Byzantine Emperor.

Again, the Western Church was not fairly represented. Next to the Roman, the Gallican was undoubtedly, at the time, its most important member. In the books usually called the Caroline, composed about the year 790 by the Bishops of France at the desire, and under the name of Charlemagne, to whom Pope Adrian had transmitted the Acts of the Council for the perusal and approbation of his Bishops, we find the very strongest protest against them. The Iconoclastic Synod of Constantinople, and the Council of Nicæa, are spoken of with equal disapprobation—the one, as having violated an ancient usage of the Church; the other, as having introduced an error of precisely the opposite nature. The authorities adduced, whether from Scripture or from the writings of the Fathers, are, and in some instances very justly, criticised: and the claim of the Council to the title of Œcumenical distinctly denied and disproved.

Again, the Church of Germany was

Aaron-al-Raschid.

In the meantime, the Caliphate was filled by the celebrated Aaron-al-Raschid, not only the greatest Prince of the race of the Abbasidæ, but one of the most illustrious of all the Caliphs.

one of great influence in Europe. In the Council of Frankfort, consisting of Prelates from all parts of the vast dominions of Charlemagne, and holden in 794, the second Canon expressly condemns the Second Council of Nicæa.

It is fair, however, to mention the solution which is given by the upholders of the Second Council of Nicæa, to this declaration of the Synod of Frankfort. Constantine of Cyprus had said, "I receive and honour the Holy Images, but pay to the HOLY TRINITY alone the supreme adoration of Latria." This sentence had been, in the Latin Version, used in the West, changed as follows: "I receive and honour the Holy Images, according to the adoration which I pay to the HOLY TRINITY." It is specifically to this idolatrous assertion that the Fathers of Frankfort object: but as the French Bishops mention it as one only among several points to which they object, and as the Council of Frankfort was partly composed of these very Prelates, it seems not unfair to imagine, that they only referred to the misunderstood assertion of Constantine of Cyprus, as the most objectionable among the passages to which they objected.

Thus, then, its authority was at once denied by the French and German Churches: and the former was so closely connected at the time with the British Church, that there can be no doubt what were the sentiments of the Prelates of our own island on the subject. And the Pope's answer to the representations of the Fathers of Frankfort is written in an apologetic and undecided strain. "We have received it," says he, "because its decision is in conformity with the belief of S. Gregory; and fearing that if we did not, the Greeks would return to their error, and that we should be responsible for the loss of so many souls." We may thus sum up the sentiments of the various then existing Churches on the subject of the Council of Nicæa: its decrees were received by the Prelates of Thrace, Greece, the Archipelago, part of Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily: they were neither received nor rejected by those of the vast Diœcese of Antioch, Egypt, Africa, and Spain: and they were rejected by those of Germany, France, and probably Britain.

But the number of Prelates actually engaged in a Council does not, we shall be reminded, affect its Œcumenical character. Thus, the Second Œcumenical Council was composed entirely of Eastern Bishops, and those not above a hundred and fifty in number; and the Third, bounded by nearly the same limits, did not, furthermore, represent the Diœcese of Antioch. To which we reply, that these Councils were soon afterwards embraced as Œcumenical by the whole world; whereas the contrary was notoriously the case with that of Nicæa. Fifty years after the Council of Constantinople, it was recognised as authoritative by that of Ephesus; the latter, in a far shorter period, was authenticated by the Fathers of Chalcedon. But Pope Nicholas the First, seventy-six years after the Synod of Nicæa, condemning Photius, declares that he does it by the authority of GOD, and the SIX General Councils. Photius, in his celebrated Letter against the Latin Church, written in A.D. 866, acknowledges that there were some who, although obey-

He was the last who personally undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, which he performed several times; and in the years in which he was unable to undertake it himself, he defrayed the

ing the Council of Nicæa, did not recognize it as Œcumenical. Nay, it was not, forty years after its conclusion, received as such even by the staunchest opposers of the Iconoclasts. S. Theodore, writing in 826 to Arsenius, observes, "Rome has not received it as an Œcumenical Council, but only as a provincial Synod, assembled to remedy a particular evil: the Legates of the other Patriarchs were not there; those of Rome had come on different business: Legates, indeed, there were from the East, but they were brought by our deputies, not sent by their Patriarchs, who knew nothing of the matter till afterwards. Our countrymen acted thus for the purpose of more easily bringing back the heretics, by persuading them that it was an Œcumenical Council." Theodore, however, it is fair to add, afterwards changed his opinion.

Furthermore, the alteration of the Pope's letters is not only a foul blot on the character of Tarasius, but detracts considerably from the authority of the Council. Had the epistles of Hadrian been unmutilated, it was believed that the decisions of the Council would never be received; that is, had the real sentiments of the Pope been known, the consequences of the Council might have been different from what they actually were.

Lastly, the most casual reader of the Acts of the Council cannot fail to be struck with the wretched character of most of the arguments employed in it, and the inaccuracy and want of critical knowledge which prevailed throughout its proceedings. The account of the miracle at Berytus, attributed to S. Athanasius, and the letters of S. Basil to Julian the Apostate, both read among the authorities of the Fathers, are entirely supposititious. Many of the passages, which clearly proved the use of Images against the Iconoclasts, tended not in the slightest degree to prove the propriety of paying adoration to them. Indeed, of the genuine pieces quoted, the only direct testimonies to the practice contended for are those to be found in the Acts of S. Maximus; in the apology against the Jews of Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus; and in the Spiritual Meadow of John Moschus, attributed in the Council to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem. Several miracles, indeed, attributed to Images were brought forward; and a passage from S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom, respectively, may be said to have a reference to the subject. Now, it is no doubt a possible supposition, that an Œcumenical Council might be permitted to use feeble arguments, and to rely on false proofs, in arriving at an infallible decision: that the Holy Ghost, as He employs fallible instruments in other cases, to work His own purposes, might do the same in this. But if, from any other cause, doubts can be cast on the Œcumenical character of a Council, no doubt they will be strengthened when it can be shewn that the arguments employed by that Council partook largely of human error. More particularly is this the case in the Synod which we have been discussing: it professed to rest the weight of its decisions solely on authority: its authority can clearly be proved to have been in several cases mistaken: its Fathers professed to draw their reasonings from ecclesiastical antiquity, profoundly ignorant in ecclesiastical antiquity themselves. To what conclusion would these considerations lead us?

expenses of three hundred pilgrims thither. His alms were immense: he gave away a thousand drachmæ daily: and was exceedingly liberal to such learned men and poets as frequented his court. It happened that one of his favourite concubines was afflicted with a disease, which the physicians about him were unable to cure. Grievously afflicted at this event, the Caliph made inquiries for those throughout his dominions who were skilled in the medical art. Politian was mentioned to him as one possessed of great learning in it, and was accordingly summoned to Bagdad.[1] His efforts were successful; and Aaron-al-Raschid, in a transport of gratitude, dismissed him to Alexandria, with letters commanding the restitution of the churches which the Jacobites still withheld from the Orthodox. But it does not appear that this grant was followed by any important results.[2]

Mission of Politian to Bagdad.

Death of John IV. Jan. 11, 799. *Mark II. Patr. xlix.* A.D. 799.

The death of John[3] opened the way for the accession of Mark to the Jacobite throne. It is worthy of remark that, till this period, reverence for the memory of the Evangelist had prevented the retention or assumption of this name. Two years afterwards, John was followed to the grave by Politian.

SECTION VI.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF EUSTATHIUS.

Eustathius, Pat. XL. A D. 801. A.M. 517.

EUSTATHIUS was his successor. This Patriarch had arisen from an humble origin, having been a linen manufacturer:[4] having discovered a concealed treasure, he determined to retire from the world, and to devote his wealth to the service of GOD.

[1] Eutych. ii. 411.

[2] Renaudot has shewn that the continuers of Bollandus have rightly referred this restitution of the churches to the time of John, rather than to that of his successor Mark, to which Elmacinus refers it. It is not certain whether the cure effected by Politian is the same event to which Jacobite historians allude when, as related above, they mention the harm done to their own Communion by a Melchite physician at the Court of Aaron-al-Raschid.

[3] A Synodal Epistle, written by this Patriarch to Cyriacus of Antioch, is preserved in MS. in the Vatican. Asseman, B. O. i. 625.

[4] Eutych. ii. 411.

He took the vows in the convent of Alkosairi, the church of which he built or rebuilt, and enjoyed the Abbacy of the same house, when called to fill the chair of S. Mark.

Mark, having written the usual synodal letter to the Jacobite See of Antioch, which he dispatched thither by the Bishops of Tanis and Farma, next applied himself to heal the divisions of his own Communion. We have already mentioned the rise of the heresy of the Barsanuphians; and it appears, that till this period they had kept up the succession of their Bishops. But, wearied out with the endless divisions of the sect, they determined in a body to unite themselves to the Jacobite Communion: and their Prelate, waiting on Mark, expressed to him their determination. He informed him of the joy which that return gave him; but at the same time expressed his determination not to recognise him as Bishop: and the suppliant, of his own accord, presented the Patriarch with a written document, by which he subjected himself to an anathema, if he were guilty of seeking, through ambition, the Episcopate. Finding him in earnest, Mark received him to his Communion; and in time, consecrated him, and raised him, and one of his clerks to vacant Sees. The remainder of the sect followed the example of their Bishop: their churches and monasteries were re-consecrated, their Liturgies revised, and themselves thus admitted to swell the ranks of the Jacobites.[1] This is one of the many almost imperceptible steps by which that heretical Communion obtained vigour and strength, while the Orthodox were gradually sinking into comparative insignificance. We shall, hereafter, in a more convenient place, investigate the cause of the rise of the one, and the fall of the other.

Reunion of the Barsanuphians.

[1] Elmacin. p. 122. Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 248.

SECTION VII.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHRISTOPHER.

Christopher, Pat. XLI. A.D. 805. A.M. 521.

In this exigency, for to the Catholic Church it was an exigency, when her whole efforts were required to meet the accession of strength which the union of her enemies gave them, she was deprived of her Patriarch, who only held the Apostolic Throne for the space of four years. Christopher, who succeeded, seems to have been in other respects worthy of that dignity: but it pleased Divine Providence that, shortly after his accession, he should be incapacitated, by a stroke of paralysis, from performing his episcopal functions. One of his suffragans, named Peter, acted as his vicar: but the weakness of her head must have affected the influence of the Church, the rather that, in spite of disease, the Episcopate of Christopher was protracted to some length.

His physical incapacity for episcopal duties.

Civil war for the Caliphate.

And times of grievous trouble were at hand. On the death of the Caliph Aaron-al-Raschid, a civil war broke out between his sons Abu-Abdallah and Almamon, which continued for about four years. In the various provinces of the Mussulman Empire, the greatest violences prevailed: no law was recognized but that of the strongest, and of all the sufferers, the Christians endured most. Egypt, although free from the immediate influence of these commotions, had its full share in their miserable effects. Its Emir became nominally absolute, without power to wield the authority he had assumed; and a set of rebels, or freebooters, sprang up throughout the country. Obeying different chiefs, they levied tributes, infested the roads, plundered the merchants, destroyed commerce, came to blows among themselves. And as if this affliction was not sufficient, a foreign enemy appeared on the shores of Egypt. The Spanish[1] Arabs had been, since the fall of the House of the Ommiadæ, under the dominion of one of its branches: its head assumed

Invasion of the Spanish Ommiadæ.

[1] The history of this expedition is extremely obscure in the Arabic historians, who consider it to have been undertaken by the Spanish Christians: Renaudot has unravelled their accounts with his usual learning, pp. 251, *seq.*

the title of Emir-el-Moumenin, Commander of the Faithful, which belonged to the Caliphs alone: and the whole race were therefore regarded at Bagdad, not only as rebels, but also as heretics. Willing, probably, to avenge the downfal of the Ommiadæ on the territories of their conquerors, the Spanish Caliph led an expedition into Egypt, and his troops overran the country.

Amrou, the Emir who nominally held the province for the Abbasidæ, threw himself into Alexandria, where it would appear that the Patriarchs also remained. The Spanish forces made slaves of all whom they took prisoners; Priests, Deacons, matrons, and virgins daily swelled the list of the captives. Mark offered, to the leader of the invaders, to buy all the prisoners whom they were willing to sell: and as a market so near at hand, and so certain, was preferable to one further off, and attended with greater risk, his offer was willingly accepted. Six thousand persons were thus sold by the Infidels to the Jacobite Patriarch, who, on obtaining possession of them, presented them with a deed of freedom, and provided with necessaries those who wished to return to their native homes. Those, on the contrary, who were willing to remain in Alexandria, were furnished by him with instructors in his own faith: and heresy probably thus reaped a harvest of converts. We have no means of telling how Christopher behaved during this season of trial, but we may conclude, both from this and from other recitals of a similar nature, that however great might be the desire of the Catholic Patriarchs to assist the unhappy sufferers, their Jacobite rivals possessed, in a far more abundant measure, the means of bestowing aid. The Egyptian malcontents, at length joining themselves with the invaders, obtained possession of Alexandria, and slew Amrou by stratagem. Frenzied by their success, the conquerors fell out among themselves, and the battle was carried on in the very streets of the city. Victory declared for the Spanish, who, having thus triumphed over a double enemy, abandoned themselves to fancied security: some sought the pleasures of the bath, some lay down to sleep in the houses of the vanquished, and others sought repose through the streets. The inhabitants of Alexandria, regaining courage, remarked that the foreigners, after all, had entered the town in comparatively

Charity of Mark.

small numbers, that they were fatigued with the combats in which they had been engaged, and separated from each other: planning their measures with caution and speed, they fell upon their enemies, and cut off as many as eight hundred. The comrades of the fallen Arabs, burning to avenge their death, again entered the city; slaughtered indiscriminately Christians, Jews, and Mahometans; and subjected the place to the horrors of a second sack. The church of S. Saviour, which had lately been restored at great expense by the Jacobites, contrary to the wishes of Mark, who represented the envy that such a display of riches might procure from the Emir, attracted the attention of the excited soldiery. For before its doors lay the corpses of some of the slaughtered Arabs, which had been thrown there for the purpose of clearing the streets, as a public place perhaps extended itself before the church; and an old man appearing upon the walls exhorted the victors to avenge the fate of their companions. "I was present," said he, "when the Patriarch Mark, the builder of this church, and its Prelate, slew with his own hands the men on whose bodies you are gazing: I heard him excite the Christians to further deeds of butchery: how much his example availed, how eagerly his exhortations were followed, let the streets and houses, thronged with the bodies of your friends, testify. Your revenge is easy: the erection of this pile cost those very Christians, and that very Patriarch, their money, and time, and labour: a few moments of exertion on your parts may destroy that which they, with so much difficulty, succeeded in erecting." The church was in a few moments in a blaze; the spirit of destruction, once raised, was hardly to be allayed: after an indiscriminate slaughter, the Arabs collected such booty as they could find, and then fired the city in several places at once.[1]

Sack of Alexandria.

Destruction of S. Saviour's church.

While ravage and anarchy thus reigned over Egypt, Mark retired with two disciples into the desert: and lay hid, as he could, for five years. Such persons of the Jacobite Communion as were able resorted to him for instruction and consolation: and he exercised, in the meantime, such an inspection of his Church as the unhappy state of the times would permit. Nor

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 255.

did he confine his attention to the affairs of his own Diœcese. Previous to this time, a heresy concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, of a new character, according to the Arabic historians, made its appearance in the Diœcese of Antioch. Its author was one Abraham, a Metropolitan of that Patriarchate, but of what province we are not informed. The nature of this heresy was, says Severus, too horrible to relate: and it is therefore impossible to speak with certainty on the point; but it appears not improbable that it asserted the Holy Eucharist to be a merely Commemorative Rite, denying it to be a true participation of the Very Body and Blood of our Blessed LORD. Mark, however, considered it his duty, as Prelate of a See in communion with Antioch, to oppose this error; and accordingly wrote to Cyriacus, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and exhorted him to repress the growing evil. The latter exerted his utmost endeavours to bring back the heretics; but in vain. Many of the Antiochene Prelates embraced the new doctrines, and made a secession from the Jacobite body, under the appellation of Abrahamæans. Thus have we another proof how it is the wont of heresy to propagate heresy: no sooner was one of the many schisms of Jacobitism healed by the reception of the Barsanuphians to the communion of their more powerful brethren, than another sect takes root in another soil, and propagates the fruits of division and unbelief. The authors of this division were convinced of their heresy by the successor of Cyriacus. After five years' exile, by application to one of the petty tyrants under whom Egypt groaned, Mark was allowed, with a letter of security, to retire to Wad y Habib. After some interval of repose, the Arabs continued their incursions over Egypt, and many monasteries were burnt and sacked by them. The news of this calamity afflicted Mark to such a degree, as to throw him into a fever: and on Easter Eve, finding that his end was near, he desired the Bishops who were present to administer to him the Viaticum, and after receiving it, departed this life.[1] He is celebrated by the Ethiopians on the seventeenth of April; on which day, says his encomiast, "the redeemer of the captives of his people departed

Sacramentaries at Antioch.

Death of Mark. April 17. A.D. 819.

[1] Elmacin. p. 128. Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 249. This is the Egyptian tradition: but Asseman (B.O. ii. 343,) denies, though not quite convincingly, that there was such a heresy. Barsalibi (B.O ii. 203) agrees with the Egyptians.

to the place of the heavenly nuptials." He is called the "new," or the younger, to distinguish him from the Evangelist; and the "rich," probably on account of his alms.[1]

*Jacob Patr. l. A.D. 819.**

The successor of Mark was Jacob, who was raised to the dignity against his own will; and, indeed, in such times of distress it could have been little short of force that compelled one brought up in the retirement of a monastery, to come forward in the invidious position of chief of a Christian sect.[2]

Abdel-Aziz, whom we have mentioned before as one of the tyrants of this afflicted country, during the civil war which raged between the sons of Aaron-al-Raschid, made himself master of a considerable part of Egypt. As the Spanish Arabs, or, as the Arabian historians term them, Andalusians, or Khowarege, still continued their ravages, this chieftain, careless of human suffering, and willing to sacrifice his subjects, if his enemies might also share their fate, burnt a considerable quantity of corn, and removed the rest into public granaries, whence he forbade it to be distributed. He thus hoped, since he could not, by force of arms, compel the Spanish troops to evacuate Alexandria, to effect by starvation[3] that which he could not do by the sword. Hence a famine raged throughout the country. Abdel-Aziz had a particular subject of complaint against the Jacobites, that they had refused to elevate his nominee, on the death of Mark, to the Patriarchate. Anxious to get the Patriarch into his own hand, he threatened with an oath that he would destroy all the churches, and put to death all the Bishops, unless Jacob obeyed. Before the latter could reach the camp of the chief, a violent death had freed Egypt from her tyrant, who was succeeded by his son Ali.

Tyranny of Abdel-Aziz. A.D. 825.

The aspect of affairs assumed a brighter appearance, when the civil war for the Caliphate came to an end. Almamon

[1] Severus, ap, Renaudot, p. 267.

[2] Sollerius, p. 82*. Ludolf, in his Commentary on the Calendar, displays his ignorance by saying, "Patriarcha, at cujus Ecclesiæ non dicitur."

[3] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 268.

* This is one of the few instances in which the chronology of the most laborious and accurate Le Quien seems inaccurate. He fixes A.D. 826 as the date of the accession of this Patriarch: (ii. 464 D.) following Elmacinus, who in one place gives this date; in another A.D. 808: while Severus mentions A.M. 535, which answers to A.D. 819. This latter computation has at all events the merit of being consistent with the date A.D. 825, assigned by the same author for the arrival of Abdallah in Egypt.

having succeeded to that dignity, dispatched Abdallah as his Prefect into Egypt.[1] It appears that there were difficulties attending his entrance on his province; for it was not till a year after his having visited Pelusium that he made his entry into Cairo. The Spanish invaders were compelled to leave the country; peace was again restored: a year of extraordinary fertility succeeded the famine; and as Abdallah was imbued with the principles of justice, the Christians enjoyed an exemption from the calamities under which they had lately suffered. This happy state of affairs had been nearly brought to an end by the ambition of a private individual. The Bishopric of Phane[2] being vacant, this man wished to secure it for himself: but conscious that he did not possess sufficient merit to aspire to the Episcopal dignity, he sought, in the first place, a mandate from the Emir for his consecration. Jacob refused to obey: but on the instant entreaties of his friends, who were unwilling, after so brief an interval of peace, to hazard a rupture with the Mahometan powers, he at length, in violation of the Canons, consented. It is said that the intruder did not live to reach his See.

Caliphate of Almamon.

In the meantime, it appears that Christopher was employing the leisure of his long illness by the composition of various works. The little treatise, which we have before mentioned under the title, "What does the Life of Man resemble?" is by some ascribed to him. And he undoubtedly, in conjunction with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, wrote a letter, the origin and nature of which it will be necessary to explain, by a further sketch of the proceedings of the Iconoclasts.

Works of Christopher.

During the remainder of the reign of Constantine, and under the succeeding rule of Irene alone, no opposition was offered to the reception of the Council of Nicæa. Nicephorus, who succeeded and banished the latter,—a man of the greatest impiety, and guilty of involving the Church of Constantinople in schism,—was not an Iconoclast: Michael Curopalates, his

Sketch of the progress of Iconoclasticism, A.D. 813.

[1] Elmacin. p. 136.

[2] Of this See, which Severus reports to have been in the Thebais, we can find no other account. The name is probably corrupt; but the only one which at all resembles it among the Egyptian Dioceses, is that of Fayoum, or Arsinoe, which was in Arcadia Heptanomus.

successor, was a favourer of Images; but Leo the Armenian, by whom he was succeeded, revived the Iconoclast violences. Theodore Studites was his principal opponent; and addressed himself to Christopher as well as to the other Patriarchs, explaining to him the state of affairs, in order that he might receive the benefit of his counsel and sympathy. The answer of the Patriarch of Alexandria, if ever dispatched, does not now exist. The persecution of Leo finished with his life: on his falling a victim to a conspiracy, Michael assumed the purple. The new Emperor, although not professing to honour Images, at first allowed liberty of opinion to all; and recalled the exiles. It appears that at this time Constantinople was not in communion with any other of the Patriarchates, while the remaining four freely communicated with each other. Michael, however, before long, trod in the steps of Leo the Armenian; and Theophilus, his son and successor, was still more opposed to them than his father had been. It was to this Emperor, that about the year 830, Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, and Basil of Jerusalem, addressed a letter on the subject of the honour due to Images. Indeed, it appears that the first-mentioned Bishop possessed a high character for wisdom and learning.[1]

It shews the deep ignorance which long prevailed on the subject of Alexandrian heresy, that Sollerius should have devoted fifteen sections to an attempt to prove that the Jacobite Church, from its agreement with the Catholics on the subject of Images, was in communion with Rome and the other great Sees during these troubles,—a thing positively and even absurdly impossible.

The Caliphs turn their attention to Greek literature.

The quiet reign of Almamon continued to give a breathing time to the Christians. This Prince was distinguished above all his predecessors by his love of learning. The Arabs had previously confined their studies to their own language, to the composition of poetry, and to the text of, and commentaries on, the Koran; but they now began to embrace a wider range. The Greek language became a branch of education;[2] and many works

[1] Parts of the Treatise, *Cui vita hominis similis est?* are found in MSS. with different names, and are ascribed to Christopher. In the Vatican is another Treatise bearing his name, under the curious title of *A Sermon on the Parable of the Serpent and the Rich Man.*

[2] Græv. Præf. ad Abulfedam, quoted in Renaudot, 275.

were translated from it, or from Syriac versions of the Greek, into Arabic. Among them were those of Aristotle; those of Galen, Hippocrates, and other eminent physicians; and those of Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and others. These translations were principally made by Nestorians; and it was through them that those Latin versions of Aristotle, which were employed in the schools, had their origin. Almamon also bestowed much attention on the science of astronomy; and the *Tables of Almamon*, deduced from observations made by the most learned astronomers in the Plains of Sennaar, in Mesopotamia, were famous in antiquity; and the groundwork of several later tables. The most celebrated of the observations taken by the command of Almamon, was that of three brothers, astronomers, for the purpose of determining the circumference of the earth. They fixed it at eight thousand leagues; thereby shewing that they must have had a considerable knowledge of mathematics. These studies not only tended to soften and to humanise the fierce dispositions of the Mahometan conquerors, but also to inspire them with greater respect for the Greeks, into the treasures of whose literature they were thus in some measure introduced. But by the stricter Mahometans these new studies were believed to introduce novelties into, and to corrupt the simplicity of, their religion: and by such Almamon was severely censured. Another cause of complaint against this Caliph was the severity of his persecution against those who asserted that the Koran was uncreated: for this absurd tenet had many supporters; and several were found ready to suffer imprisonment and death rather than abjure their belief in it. Almamon not only proclaimed, by public edicts, that the Koran had been created, but, furthermore, issued a decree to the effect that it was only the third in the rank of creatures; Ali occupying the second place after Mahomet.[1] Much bloodshed was occasioned by the controversy on this point. A.D. 827. Ali the second creature.

After a reign of twenty years, Almamon was succeeded by his brother, Muhatecim Billa, who had during his lifetime been Emir of Egypt.[2] A.D. 833.

The Jacobites were cheered by a visit from the Patriarch of that sect at Antioch, Dionysius. This ecclesiastic, known to us

[1] Elmacin. p. 138. [2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 276.

by a "Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own times," was induced to undertake the journey into Egypt by the fame of Jacob, which had extended itself into Syria. Of the latter we have no further accounts; except that he ordained one John,[1] Metropolitan of the Ethiopians, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter. Jacob was immediately followed or preceded to the grave by Christopher.

SECTION VIII.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF SOPHRONIUS.

Sophronius, Patr. XLII. A.D. 836. A.M. 552.

THE successor of Christopher was Sophronius: of Jacob, Simon, a native of Alexandria, who held the dignity only for five months. On his death, or abdication,[2] a difficulty arose as to the election of his successor. One Isaac, surnamed the Cid, or the Lord, was the candidate fixed on by some: and a few Bishops, among whom were Zachary of Wissim, and Theodore of Misra, joined themselves to this party. Isaac was not only rich, but of noble birth: he was, however, canonically incapable of election to the Patriarchate, from the fact that he was married. Anxious to obtain the dignity which seemed to be within his grasp, he wrote by the advice of his party, to the Clergy and people of Alexandria, making liberal offers of what he would do, if raised to the

Simon II. Patr. li. A.D. 836.*

[1] Le Quien, who in this part of his history is once or twice strangely inaccurate, attributes (ii. 648, A) this ordination to Yuçab. Renaud. pp. 273, 283.

[2] Sollerius, p. 86*. Makrizi, § 380.

* The typographical inaccuracy, in this part of his work, of Le Quien's dates is sorely perplexing. But there is a contradiction in the dates of Yuçab's accession and death, which it is less easy to rectify. Simon, according to Le Quien, was ordained in A.D. 836: and yet he fixes Yuçab's death, after a pontificate of eighteen years and eleven months, in A.M. 566, A.D. 850, (though by a misprint we have 859). Yuçab's Patriarchate could thus, at the very outside, have lasted but fourteen years. If we may imagine that Renaudot's eighteen years and eleven months is a misprint for thirteen years and eleven months, carelessly copied by Le Quien, whose printers still further perplexed the confusion by the error of 859 for 850, the difficulty will become less. Fleury (xi. 348), gives Yuçab seventeen years: on what grounds we know not. The whole chronology is very obscure.

post of which he was desirous; of restoring all the decayed churches, with their necessary buildings, sustaining the Priests and the poor from his own purse, and paying the tribute to which they were liable. But Chail, Bishop of Pelusium, and John of Bana, or Panephysus,[1] opposed the compromise of a principle for the sake of expediency. "Shall the fear of the LORD," said they, "be neglected, the Canons violated, and custom set at defiance, by elevating to the Throne of S. Mark a man incapable of that dignity, and expressly forbidden to aspire to it? Shall we thus lower ourselves in the sight of the Melchites, only too eager to find a flaw in our proceedings on which they may fasten, and to turn the slightest failure of duty to our reproach and confusion? Shall we throw a stumbling-block in the way of our brethren of Antioch, whose distance from us renders it doubly necessary that we commit nothing by which, as has in former times too often unhappily been the case, our Communion with them may be interrupted? Shall we do that which since the time of S. Mark has only been done once, and then[2] in an instance where a miracle was wrought to prove the continency of the man thus raised to the Chair of the Evangelist?" These arguments prevailed: the claims of the Canons were allowed to be paramount to those of expediency, and Yuçab, or Joseph, Abbat of S. Macarius, was mentioned as worthy of the Patriarchate. This ecclesiastic was accordingly summoned; and although very unwilling, compelled to receive the proffered dignity. But now appeared the unhappy consequences of the ambition of Isaac. When Yuçab was brought before the Emir of Alexandria, in order that his election might be confirmed, the latter refused to consent, unless on the payment of the thousand pieces of gold which the rejected candidate had promised. The Bishops replied, that this being the case, the consecration should take place at Cairo, where, it would appear, the authority of this Emir did not extend; and by this answer they obtained an exemption from the threatened imposition.[3]

Attempts to intrude a married Patriarch

defeated.

Yuçab found the affairs of Egypt in great confusion. The

Yuçab, Patr. lii. A.D. 837.*

[1] Renaudot (277), makes Bana the same with Panopolis. Le Quien (ii. 547, 8) has pointed out the mistake.

[2] See Book i. Sect. ii.

[3] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 278.

* Makrizi gives 842 as the date.

Revolt of the Bschammyrites.

Bschammyrites, weary of the oppressions of the Emirs, flew to arms, and raised the standard of liberty. The Caliph,[1] probably finding that the forces then in Egypt were not sufficient to crush the revolt, dispatched an army against the insurgents. The Patriarch, desirous to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and perceiving that the struggle would be ineffectual, wrote to the rebels, reminding them of the duty of subjection to the powers that be, and exhorting them to lay down their arms. To give his epistles the more weight, he dispatched them by Bishops: but the insurgent army not only treated them with contempt, but carried their indignation so far as to insult the messengers. The war continued with various fortune, until at length the Caliph found his presence necessary for its close. In his name,[2] Dionysius of Antioch visited Egypt. The Caliph, on learning the efforts already made by Yuçab for the restoration of peace, dispatched the two Patriarchs to the insurgents, charging them with an offer of oblivion, if they would now return to their duty. The negotiation, however, failed: the Caliph's army took the field: the insurgents were shut up in their citadel: a blockade was commenced; and the fortress at length being taken, all the males were put to the sword, the women and children, and those not actually engaged in the defence, were carried to Bagdad. Dionysius represented that the severity of the Emir had induced this rebellion: and the Caliph to shelter him from the revenge of the tyrannical officer, advised him to return into Syria. This step, however, was not sufficient to shelter the Patriarch from the indignation of Ibrahim, who was the brother of Almamon, and Emir: and at a later period, Dionysius was compelled to leave his See, and to fly for his life.

[1] Severus calls this Caliph Almamon. But Almamon, as we have seen, died in A.D. 833. Either therefore we must, as Renaudot seems willing to do, refer the whole account of the rebellion of the Bschammyrites back to the time of the Patriarch Jacob, or imagine that the name of the Caliph is wrongly given by the historian, or reject the date given by the usually accurate Makrizi. The whole course of the account of Severus seems to render it more likely that the latter is the preferable hypothesis.

[2] If we imagine these events to have occurred during the Episcopate of Jacob, then this visit of Dionysius will be the same with that already mentioned. But there is no reason why Dionysius should not twice have visited Egypt. Yet it must be confessed that it is difficult to reconcile this with the account given of the revenge taken by Ibrahim after the death of Almamon.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Tanis and of Misra complained bitterly of the mal-administration of their Bishops; the former openly declared that, unless Isaac, their Prelate, were removed, they would no longer profess the Jacobite faith; and the latter proceeding so far as to threaten their Bishop with stoning, Yuçab, after requesting the advice of his suffragans, deposed them. Finding it necessary to strengthen his influence, he endeavoured, by gentle treatment, to win the affections of his late competitor Isaac: and for this purpose, he committed to him the custody of the Patriarchal seal, ordained him Deacon, and finally elevated him to the See of Wissim. But the deposed Prelates, thirsting for revenge, requested an audience of the Emir Afschin, the chief by whom the rebellion of the Bschammyrites had been quelled: and informed him that Yuçab, however much he had, in appearance, endeavoured to suppress that rising, had been, in fact, its author.[1] Afschin dispatched his brother to the church in which the Patriarch was then officiating, with orders to destroy him. From this fate Yuçab was preserved, as the Jacobites will have it, by a supernatural interposition: he went to the Emir, proved the falseness of the accusation, and exposed the motives which had induced the Bishops to make it. Afschin was about to punish the calumniators according to their deserts: but Yuçab interposed, and procured their pardon. This act of forgiveness was related to the Caliph, and was so much admired by him, that he issued an edict, forbidding any appeal, on the part of the Christians, from the judgment of their Patriarch.

Affairs of Nubia and Ethiopia.

Yuçab next turned his attention to the affairs of Nubia. The king of that province was named Zacharias; and had, for some time, discontinued the tribute which had been accustomably paid to the Caliph. The Emir reproached him with this neglect: and Zacharias, unwilling to leave his kingdom, yet desirous to content his Mahometan neighbours, sent George, his son, and the heir of his crown, to Bagdad. He charged him with letters to Yuçab, informing him that it had been war alone which had prevented his previously communicating with him. George was successful in his negotiations at the court of the Caliph; and returned into Egypt loaded with presents, and

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 281.

with an immunity for the arrears of tribute. He requested the Patriarch to consecrate a wooden altar, which might attend the King, his father, in his various journeys; and this petition is remarkable, as containing the first instance of the use of a portable altar in the Alexandrian Church. The wandering life of the Nubians probably induced the Patriarch to accede to this application. We accidentally learn that, in the celebration of Mass by the Prelates who attended George, bells were rung, and as it would appear from various Coptic Canons, at the Elevation of the Host. George was accompanied for some distance on his return by Yuçab, who gave thanks to GOD that he had accomplished three things on which his heart had been set: that he had renewed Communion with the Antiochene Jacobites by personal communication with their Patriarch; that he had obtained from the Caliph such powers as were necessary for the well-governing of the Churches over which he was set; and that he had been enabled to regulate the affairs of Nubia and Ethiopia.[1]

And this leads us to speak of the ecclesiastical occurrences among the latter people.[2] We have already mentioned that John had been consecrated Metropolitan, or Abuna of this nation by Jacob. The proceedings of this Prelate were not popular: and taking advantage of the absence of the Emperor of Abyssinia, a conspiracy was formed against him, at the head of which was the Empress: he was compelled to fly; and an intruder substituted in his place. The exiled Bishop retired into Egypt, and took refuge in the monastery where he had been brought up. Shortly afterwards, the Emperor, having experienced several defeats, returned into Ethiopia: and there for the first time, learnt the proceedings of his queen with respect to John. He lost no time in dispatching a messenger to Yuçab, confessing the fault of which his country had been guilty, and requesting that the Metropolitan whom they had rejected might be restored to them. Yuçab acceded to the petition, and John was again sent to his people. Though well received by the Emperor, he was still obstinately rejected by the Abyssinians: who, circumcised themselves, assigned as a reason for their con-

[1] Renaudot, p. 282. Ludolf. Comment. p. 479.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p, 283. Le Quien, ii. 468.

duct, that they could not submit to the government of an uncircumcised Abuna: and it was then found that John had been circumcised in his youth, probably by the Mahometans, who were accustomed, in certain cases, to subject Christians to that rite by force.

Affairs being thus arranged, Yuçab conceived the idea of establishing new Jacobite Sees in the more remote parts of his Diœcese. It is probable that the Catholics were unable from their poverty, depression, and paucity of numbers to keep up the orthodox succession in many of the remoter Dioceses: and it was for these that Yuçab now consecrated Prelates. Thus, perhaps, the Island of Zocotra, and others in the Red Sea, became imbued with Monophysitism: for it is equally certain, on the one hand, that these regions were once in the Communion of the Catholic Church, and on the other, that when the Portuguese penetrated into the Indian Ocean, they found that, in the parts towards the Red Sea, the faith of the Christian inhabitants was Jacobite. We have already had occasion to remark on the deadening effects of heresy in paralysing missionary exertions. We do not find that either Yuçab, or any of his successors, dispatched Prelates west of Pentapolis, although the Christian religion was fast sinking in the once flourishing Church of Carthage. In the expedition which the Emperor Charles V. undertook into Africa, some few Christians were discovered, it is true, but only such as used the Western rite: a clear proof that they were spiritual descendants of the Carthaginian Church, and had never been interfered with, either by the orthodox, or by the heretics of Alexandria.

Sophronius, in the meantime, was in high reputation for piety and learning. The Emperor, Theophilus, continuing to persecute those who honoured Images, the Patriarch of Alexandria wrote an Epistle to him on the subject, which is said to have had the effect of rendering him, for[1] the short remainder of his life, less favourable to the Iconoclasts. But the most remarkable part of this Patriarch's character, is the intimate friendship by

Before A.D. 842.

[1] Le Quien. ii. 467. Eutych. ii. 440. But Renaudot imagines that it may be a confusion of names with Sophronius of Jerusalem, which led to this assertion. 289.

Friendship of Sophronius and Yuçab.

which he was connected with Yuçab. His orthodoxy indeed is by the Jacobite writers called in question; but as they affirm that his inclination to Jacobitism was produced by a miracle, it will be charitable to give as little credence to the former, as to the latter part of their tale. We have, however, a lamentable proof of how completely the Catholics were misunderstood by their opponents, in the occurrence which preceded the pretended supernatural interposition. A Jacobite artificer, refusing to pursue his trade on Good Friday, assigned as a reason, that the "Word of God was on that day crucified." This is said to have been denied by the Catholic to whom he spoke, who at the same time reproached him for the expression which he had used; whereas it is certain, that he who should object to the terms thus employed would be guilty of Nestorianism.

The private friendship of the Patriarchs did not prevent a division between the orthodox and heretical communions, on the following occasion. One Eleazar, professing the faith of Chalcedon, however much acting unworthily of it, came into Egypt with authority from the Caliph to confiscate to the use of the latter the marbles with which the churches of the Jacobites abounded. That of S. Mennas, in Mareotis, was by far the richest in Egypt: and from this the marble columns, notwithstanding the earnest prayers of Yuçab, were abstracted. The Patriarch did what he could to repair the loss: and it is said that Eleazar, afterwards touched with remorse, sent a large sum of money to Chail, the successor of Yuçab, as a compensation for the crime of which he had been guilty.

On the death of the successor of Muhatecim Billa, who was named Aaron Wathich Billa,[1] Mutewakel Jaafar acceded to the Empire. This prince was given to luxury, cruelty, and superstition: his only virtue was military capacity. Though of the house of the Abbasidæ, he entertained a particular hatred for the memory of Ali: and put a stop to the persecution against
A.D. 845. those who asserted that the Koran was uncreated.

Yuçab was shortly afterwards embroiled with the Emir. On the death of Isaac, Bishop of Wissim, who seemed born for the trial of the Jacobites, a disciple of his, by name Theodore, was

[1] Eutych. ii. 447. Renaudot, p. 293.

desirous of succeeding his Master. Yuçab, finding that another Prelate was desired by the inhabitants, refused to consecrate the applicant. Theodore applied to the Emir, for the fulfilment of his wishes; and the Mahometan issued a mandate to the Patriarch, to consecrate this wicked ecclesiastic. Yuçab refused: and the consequence was an order for the destruction of the churches in Cairo. The work of ruin had already proceeded to some extent in that which stood in the place called Kacer-el-chema, when the Jacobites persuaded the Patriarch to perform the required consecration. He was also compelled to pay three thousand golden pieces as a fine for his first refusal: and this sum was raised by the wealthiest among the Christians.

It appears that the Bishop of Misra, proud of the importance which that city received from the residence of the Caliphs, conceived shortly afterwards the idea of freeing himself either altogether, or in part, from the yoke of the Patriarch of Alexandria. To accomplish this design, he did not blush to have recourse to a Mahometan Court. The Cadi summoned Yuçab, and demanded by what title he pretended to exercise any authority over the other Bishops of Egypt. "By the right," he replied, "received from GOD, and confirmed by the princes of this land." He produced the privileges bestowed on the See of Alexandria by Almamon, and thus obtained the acknowledgment of his dignity. We learn from this occurrence, that the Coptic tongue was still generally employed among the Christians, inasmuch as the words of Yuçab were explained to the Cadi by an interpreter.[1]

An insult which Yuçab experienced on receiving the synodal letters of John, the successor of Dionysius in the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch, shews the insecure state of the Chris- A.D. 847.*
tians under the Mahometan government, even at a time when they were not exposed to actual persecution. Naturally anxious to receive the Legates with the most imposing possible appearance, he came from Misra to Alexandria, where the letter of John was publicly read. But, being at that very time accused to the Emir on some false charge, he was ordered to be scourged

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 290.

* For John was consecrated by Abibus of Tarsus, Nov. 21, 846. Asseman, B.O. ii. 348.

before the Antiochene Prelates, who were filled with admiration at the patience with which he underwent this unjust punishment.[1]

We find, at this period, many distinguished Monks commemorated among the Jacobites. For Yuçab took particular care of the monasteries in his Diœcese, more especially of those round the Abbey of S. Macarius. Indeed, but for the foul blot of his heresy, the character of Yuçab would be a bright spot in the pages of Alexandrian History. His life, now drawing to its close, was not to end without further suffering. A new Emir, who exceeded his predecessors in wickedness and cruelty, made the Patriarch the especial object of his hatred. Entering the Episcopal "Cell" with his concubines, he not only made it the scene of his revelry, but polluted the oratory by debauchery. And not content with this, he suborned an accuser to charge Yuçab with a correspondence with the Greeks: and on this fictitious accusation, threw him into a narrow dungeon, where he was daily beaten, and could neither sleep nor apply medicine to his wounds. Into this prison the writer from whom Severus transcribes the account, was also thrown. A thousand pieces of gold were exacted as ransom: and the Emir only survived for seven days the receipt of this ill-gotten treasure.

And, as if to plead his cause against his persecutor at the Tribunal of God, Yuçab quickly followed. Seized with a fever which he perceived would be mortal, he received the viaticum on the seventh day, and departing this life, was buried at Alexandria with the other Patriarchs of his Communion.

October 20,* A.D. 850.

Chail II. Patr. liii. A.D. 850.

To him succeeded his Syncellus, Chail,[2] the second Jacobite Patriarch of that name, who was no sooner established in his dignity than, by the rapacity of the Emir, his church was reduced to such poverty, as to compel him to sell the Sacred Vessels. This persecution, and the infirm state of his own health, rendered him constant in prayer to be delivered from so wretched a condition. He only held the See for a year and five months:

[1] Elmacinus, p. 145. The Legates were Athanasius, Metropolitan of Euphemia in Mesopotamia, and Timothy of Damascus. Le Quien, ii. 1441 and 1429: Asseman, B.O. ii. 348.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 294. Makrizi, § 392. Wansleb. p. 322. Sollerius, p. 87*. Le Quien, ii. 469.

* On which day he is celebrated by the Ethiopic Church.

and was buried in the Monastery of S. Macarius, being the first Patriarch that was there interred.[1] April 17, 852.*

He was succeeded by Cosmas, a Deacon of the church of S. Macarius; and the commencement of his Patriarchate was not more happy than had been that of his predecessor. In the Feast of S. Mennas, which was celebrated with great devotion, two men of bad character happened to fall out in church, and one of them slew the other. This was made the pretext for throwing Cosmas into prison, for extorting from him the various presents which had been made to his church, and finally for bidding him to leave Alexandria. This restriction was afterwards, by the intercession of two friends in the Emir's court, partially removed; and Cosmas was called to Cairo, and permitted to live in a part of that city called Demira, where none but Christians dwelt. *Cosmas II. Putr. liv.* A.D. 852.

About this time, Mutewakel, on account of an injury which he imagined himself to have received from a Christian physician, obliged all the Christians of his dominions to wear, as a mark of ignominy, rags, or fringes of different colours over their other clothes, to use ropes instead of bridles, to paint on their doors the figure of an ape, a dog, or a devil; and forbade them the use of horses. The men were obliged to wear girdles,—an order peculiarly hateful to them: women on the contrary prohibited from using them, a girdle being the known mark and sign of feminine modesty. The obligation of men to wear the zone was well met by the Bishops. They constantly treated the girdle as an honourable badge, and exerted their fancy to discover the mystical meanings which it might bear. At length they went so far as to ordain that no one should pray without the girdle.[2] The newly erected churches and sepulchres were thrown down: lights or processions disallowed: and no Christian was permitted to serve in any public capacity. These regula- Seventh Persecution under Mutewakel.

[1] Elmacinus, p. 152. Makrizi, § 393.

[2] Ebnassal, in his "Principles of Faith," quoted by Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. p. 179.

* Severus gives 851: and is followed by Renaudot, Sollerius, and Le Quien. But if Chail were ordained Nov. 20, 850, and held the See a year and five months, as Severus and Renaudot agree, the date of his death must be as we have given it. Ludolf gives "Michael" in the Calendar for April 17: but evidently does not know who he was.

tions were, from time to time, renewed: and doubtless they had their effect in thinning the numbers of the Christians; for while these marks of disgrace must have been perpetually felt, they did not cause sufficient suffering to entitle those who were subject to them to the honour of confessorship.

This persecution[1] extended over the whole of the Mahometan Empire, and was very severe at Bagdad: Jews, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Catholics, equally suffered from it. The Emir, whom the historians call, although probably by a wrong name, Abdel-Messias, seemed determined on abolishing the Christian name out of Egypt: he forbade that funeral obsequies should be performed: that bells should be rung: that prayers should be offered in the churches, except in a low voice: and finally, that the Holy Eucharist should be celebrated at all. To carry the latter prohibition into the more complete effect, he also forbade, under pretext of extraordinary veneration for the Mahometan Law, the buying or selling of wine throughout Egypt, but more especially in Cairo: and so vigilant was the care exercised in the carrying out of this edict, that wine was by no means to be procured. In this extremity, the Christians bruised raisins in water, and used the expressed juices to celebrate the Holy Eucharist. A question arose whether the Sacrament, thus, in case of necessity, administered with unfermented liquors, could be considered valid. Many canonists denied its validity. Even Egyptian writers do not venture to defend it. So Michael, Bishop of Melicha or Nilopolis, a Divine of eminence among the Jacobites, though his age is uncertain, decides that it is not to be allowed.

An expedition made by the Greeks, in which they seized on
A.D. 852. Damietta, served only to irritate the Mahometan tyrants; and the miseries of the Christians reached such a pitch that it seemed impossible to add to them.

Sophronius was now well stricken in years: and the last act of his public life was to condemn the intrusion of Photius into the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the banishment of S. Ignatius. To give any account of these events were beyond the intention of our history. It was probably in the next year

[1] Makrizi relates this persecution as occurring in the last years of Yuçab: but, Renaudot thinks, wrongly, p. 296.

after this occurrence,[1] that a dropsy ended the life of the Patriarch Sophronius. And the same year Cosmas also was called to his account. A.D. 859. Nov. 17.*

SECTION IX.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL I.

Chail I. Patr. XLIII. A.D. 859. A.M. 675.

THE successor of Sophronius was Chail, or Michael.[2] With respect to the succession of Cosmas, a difference of opinion, as usual, prevailed among the Jacobites. At length Chenouda, or Sanutius, treasurer of the church of S. Macarius, was elected with the unanimous consent of the Clergy and people in his absence. Being summoned to the Council, he entered the church of S. Sergius at Misra at the very time, during the celebration of Mass, that the words, "It is meet and worthy," were being sung: and (as there is no neuter gender in Coptic,) this circumstance was received as a testimony of the fitness of the election.

Chenouda I. Patr. lv. A.D. 859.

Chenouda had a particular veneration for the Blessed Name of JESUS, and made it a custom, which has since been observed in Egypt, that all private letters on important subjects, and all public ecclesiastical documents, should commence with the letters $\overline{\text{IC}}$. $\overline{\text{XC}}$. $\overline{\text{YC}}$. $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$. JESUS CHRIST, the SON, GOD. The new Patriarch was also a determined enemy to Simony. It is astonishing that, in the depressed and persecuted state of the Coptic Jacobites, any should have been found desirous of committing so great a sin, for the sake of uncertain emolument, and certain risk: but it appears that the crime was prevalent.

Turning his attention to the state of his Diœcese, he discovered that in a town of Mareotis were some remains of the ancient Quartodeciman schismatics, who in their time for the observation

[1] Eutychius fixes this event as early as A.D. 847. But we know from the proceedings of the Constantinopolitan Council of 869, (reckoned by the Latin Church as the Eighth Œcumenical) that Sophronius of Alexandria was one of those who condemned the intrusion of Photius, which he must therefore have survived. Le Quien, ii. 468.

[2] Eutych. ii. 455.

* Here again Ludolf knows not who the Cosmas was that was celebrated on this day.

Quartodecimans reconciled to the Jacobite Communion.

of Easter set the Council of Nicæa at defiance. This sect, falling from bad to worse, had now acquired several new tenets from other heretical bodies, such as the Phantasiasts and Barsanuphians; and denied the reality of the LORD's Passion, affirming Him to have suffered it in a kind of trance. It is melancholy to find the opportunity of reclaiming these wanderers from the Fold lost by the Catholic Church, especially as they appear, unsought, to have renounced these errors. They came to Chenouda, requesting him to give them a formula of Faith: and at their reception of it, he received them, by confirmation,[1] to the Jacobite Communion. Thus this heretical body became, not actually stronger, for apostacy to the Mahometanism had thinned its numbers, but stronger with respect to those who asserted the True Faith of Chalcedon.

It may appear from this voluntary submission on the part of the Quartodecimans, that the reputation of Chenouda must have been high. And he appears to have acquired great estimation for his theological knowledge: his Paschal letters were, in particular, much valued. It will not be amiss to quote, as a specimen of the then teaching of his Communion, a part of that which he wrote in the second year of his Episcopate.

A.D. 860.

"We believe also that, in the end of time, GOD, when He was pleased to deliver our race from slavery, sent forth His Only Begotten SON into the world, Who was made man, (being made like unto us in all things,) of the HOLY GHOST and of the Virgin Mary, taking unto Himself a perfect Body, without sin: a body endued with a soul after an incomprehensible sort: and He made That Body one with Himself, or united it to Himself, without alteration, commixtion, or division, but so that there was One Person,[2] and One Nature. He suffered in the Body for us: He died, and rose again from the dead according to the Scriptures: and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right

Heortastic Epistle of Chenouda.

[1] Severus says, "by the Seal of Holy Baptism."—But he means Confirmation, as Renaudot very well shews: it is obvious that Quartodecimans could not require re-baptism,—and the Seventh Canon of the First Council of Constantinople expressly says,—*τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίτας εἴτουν τετραδίτας καὶ Ἀπολλιναριστὰς δεχόμεθα διδόντας λιβέλλους, καὶ ἀναθεματίζοντας πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν, ... καὶ σφραγιζομένους, ἤτοι χριομένους τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ.* Thus these heretics,—whether Quartodecimans or (from being Phantasiasts in fact) Apollinarians,—could only have been confirmed.

[2] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 306.

hand of GOD the FATHER. But when we affirm, that GOD suffered and died for our sakes, we affirm it according to the sense of the True Faith, that He suffered in the body, being Himself impassible, and that He is One GOD: as the Fathers of the Holy Church have taught us. But whoever shall blasphemously divide Him, affirming that GOD was obnoxious neither to Passion nor to death, but that it was Man that suffered and died, and thus divide Him into two, GOD the WORD on the one part, and Man on the other: thus affirming Him to consist of Two Natures in Two Persons, of which each worketh that which is proper to itself: men who thus affirm, endeavouring to introduce the impure Creed of Nestorius and the Faith of the profane Council of Chalcedon, against the Orthodox Belief: these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizeth, we avoid and execrate them, and anathematize them that assert that GOD the WORD, after the incomprehensible Union, hath two Natures. But we with the True Faith confess, that GOD the WORD took upon Himself voluntarily a Body and its natural affections: for it is certain that the Union is complete altogether and in all things. For the Natures, which were at first united, are by no means separated, the WORD thus ordering, when they are inseparable, even in the time of the Passion which He endured in His Body."

It is accused of Apollinarianism.

The Paschal letter was highly esteemed by many among the Jacobites, as a faithful transcript of the teaching of S. Cyril. There were not, however, wanting those, more especially in the Thebais, who exclaimed loudly against that part of it which asserts that the Divine Nature had suffered death; and who called for the deposition of the Patriarch that had taught this belief. The Bishops of Semnuda and Moniet Tama were at the head of this party: and it might have been hoped that the Church would reap the advantage of these divisions. But those Prelates died suddenly: and their inferior partizans were induced, even in their lifetime, to recognize the Orthodoxy of Chenouda.[1]

Abdallah was now Emir of Egypt, a man in every way tyrannical, and extremely averse from the Christians. Finding it difficult on account of their extreme simplicity of life, to tax the Monks, he made the vegetables and fruits, on which they lived, excise-

[1] Elmacinus, p. 153.

able articles: and doubled or trebled the taxes of the other Christians. He also ordered search to be made for the Patriarch of the Jacobites: but Chenouda, unwilling to risk himself at court, made a tour, with one disciple, of the remoter parts of his Diœcese, visiting its monasteries; sometimes travelling on foot, sometimes going by water. The goods of the Clergy were seized, and the churches in Misra, with only one exception, were closed. After six months' wandering, Chenouda, apparently ashamed of his want of courage, determined to wait on the Emir; and returning secretly to Cairo, was harboured by a private Christian of that city. Thence he wrote to Abdallah, requesting security for his person, but received a threatening reply: nevertheless he ventured by night, with Mennas, his disciple and secretary, to present himself before the Emir. He was favourably received; and in a second audience it was agreed that the Church of Alexandria should pay an annual tribute of two thousand, the Monasteries of two thousand three hundred golden pieces.

Circa A.D. 862.

Eighth Persecution under Abdallah.

It is possible that the growing strength of the Orthodox in Upper Egypt was one reason for the risk to which Chenouda, on this occasion, exposed himself. It is easy to see, through the fables of Jacobite historians, that the Church had obtained a power, in that province, by no means agreeable to the heretical Communion: and it was considered necessary that Chenouda himself should pay a visit to those parts, in order to confirm them in the Jacobite belief.

Metropolitans created by the Catholics.

And indeed, about, or before, this time, a great and a last effort seems to have been made by the Church for the recovery of her lost power. We have already observed, that the Patriarch of Alexandria was in fact, from the earliest ages, the only Metropolitan of Egypt. But it seems to have suggested itself, either to Chail, or to Sophronius, that it would be a likely method of acquiring greater strength and reputation, were this dignity established in the Alexandrian, as in all the other Eastern churches. Probably also the desire of approximating to the Church of Constantinople, and of complimenting it by adopting its usages, might have pleaded in favour of this step. That it was wise or prudent to give further occasion to the reproach under which the Melchites already lay, of deserting the customs

and the discipline of their forefathers, might seem, regarding the matter *à priori*, more than questionable: that it eventually answered in some degree the wishes of its devisers is evident, from the fact that a similar plan was, at a later period, adopted by the Jacobites.

It is impossible to speak with precision of the time at which the institution of Metropolitans took place. It is certain, however, that it was before A.D. 879: for in the letter of Chail to the Pseudo-Eighth Council, assembled in that year at Constantinople, and which we shall presently have occasion to quote, mention is made of four Metropolitans. Their numbers are still more uncertain than their date: but they would appear not to have exceeded ten or twelve: as we have had occasion to observe in our Introduction.

In the meantime, the feeble authority of the Caliphs was, through civil disputes, growing daily feebler. Moustansir,[1] the son of Mutewakel, enjoyed only for six months a government which he had obtained by parricide. His uncle, Ahmed, surnamed Moustain, succeeded, and perished after a reign of nearly four years, by a violent death; and was followed by his brother Mahomet, surnamed Mutazzi. In the civil war between these two princes the Emir of Egypt maintained a strict neutrality, determined to bestow his allegiance on the successful rival. He did not, however, refrain from oppressing the Christians with exactions; and his tyranny and the incursions of the Arabs into the Thebais, rendered it a matter of public rejoicing when Mutazzi was proclaimed Caliph. But a more important change was at hand for Egypt.[2] The Turks possessed, at this time, the principal authority in the Caliph's Court: and by their means Muzahem, of Turkish origin, was appointed to the Emirate, and thus displaced the time-serving Yezid. He brought with him a body of Turkish troops, to which the native soldiery were far inferior: he quelled, with a high hand, various insurrections, conducted his military operations, both by land and by water, with great spirit, and though cruel in exacting punishment, was on the whole a strict observer of justice. The activity of the government was acknowledged: robbers disappeared; industry

Decline of the Caliphate.

[1] Severus, ap. Renaudot, p. 309. [2] Id. p. 311.

was protected, and order re-established. Nor were the Christians exempted from the benefit of the change. Under the Caliphate of Moustansir, two men of property, after communicating their design to Chenouda, and receiving his blessing, set forth to Bagdad, and under the government of his successor Moustain succeeded in obtaining a deed, by which all that had been unjustly taken and detained from the Christians, by preceding Emirs, should be restored to them, whether churches, monasteries, plate, lands, ornaments, or property of any other description. And on their return into Egypt, this mandate was dispatched by Chenouda from one end of his Diœcese to the other: he accompanied it with consolatory letters to his suffragans, and from Farma, says Severus, to Assowan, that is, from Rhinocorura to Syene, in other words, from Phœnicia to Ethiopia, churches were restored, and religion re-established.

Mission of Jacobites to Bagdad.

Muzahem, after raising the Emirate to a dignity which it had never previously attained, in the short space of little more than a year, left it to his son, who died at the end of two months: his successor, Argouz, also appears to have retained it for a very short time. He was followed by the more celebrated Ahmed, son of Touloun, also of Turkish race, who, weary of the feeble yoke of the distant Caliphs, erected the province of Egypt into a separate government, and ruled it with royal power.

Intercourse had hitherto been but slight between Constantinople and Alexandria. But on the accession of Basil, surnamed the Macedonian, he deposed Photius, the usurper of the Patriarchal Chair of the Imperial City, and re-established Ignatius: and being desirous of punishing the former, and vindicating the latter at the Tribunal of an Œcumenical Council, he proceeded to take the necessary steps for its convocation. He requested leave from Ahmed, that Chail might be allowed to dispatch Legates to Constantinople: and to this proposition the Emir, feeling perhaps the importance that one who was only a successful rebel against the Caliph, should be on good terms with the Greek Emperor, very willingly consented. The Council met at Constantinople early in October; but was interrupted in the winter months: and it was not till the following February that Joseph, Archdeacon of Alexandria, and Legate of Chail, made his appearance in it. With the proceedings of the Council, and

Alexandrian Legate at Constantinople.

Oct. 5. A.D. 869.

Feb. 12. A.D. 870.

its condemnation of Photius, we have nothing to do; but the letter of Chail to Basil, gives some idea of the state of the Alexandrian Church.

Letter of Chail to the Emperor.

He stated therein his anxious desire of writing to the Emperor, a desire which nothing but the slavery in which the Church lay had prevented him from carrying into practice; that the Governor of Egypt had, using a policy different from that of his predecessors, willingly consented to his sending a Legate to Constantinople, to decide on the question about to be discussed by the Council: that for this purpose he had dispatched Joseph, a man whom he well knew to be worthy of the mission, and one who, from his infancy, had been engaged in the Monastic Life. With respect to the question itself, he added, it was impossible for him, living at such a distance, to venture a decisive opinion; that, however, Bishops and Abbats were not wanting, who would be able to discuss it thoroughly, and to decide it justly: and after imploring the Emperor to receive the deputation graciously, and to favour them in the redemption of captives, the alleged object of their mission, he commends him to the Divine Mercy, by the intercession of S. Mary, S. Mark, and All Saints. Joseph, who was well received by the Council, did not arrive in time to share in the condemnation of Photius, but he testified in writing his approbation of it. He afterwards, in common with the other Legates of the East, decided in favour of Constantinople, against the claims of Rome to the ecclesiastical supremacy of Bulgaria. We shall find that the character of this Legate was afterwards, though most unjustly, branded with infamy.

It was, however, discovered, in the course of this Council, that a gross deception had been practised by Photius under the name of Chail. There was one Leontius, dispatched by the Patriarch to Constantinople, for the purpose of procuring alms: he was by birth a Greek, had been taken as a slave to Alexandria, and ransomed by Chail, whose kindness he abused. He assumed, at the request of Photius, the character of Legate from Alexandria, and in this capacity was made use of by the Patriarch of Constantinople, for the purpose of strengthening his cause. He confessed his fault in the Ninth Session, and was forgiven.

A.D. 871,* or 872.

Chail survived the return of his Legate, and his own ratification of the Council, but a short time, and departing this life, was succeeded by a Patriarch of the same name with himself.

SECTION X.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL II.

Chail II. Patr. XLIV. A.D. 872. A.M. 588.

THE new head of the Alexandrian Church was a Roman by nation: unless we imagine, in concordance with another reading of Eutychius,[1] that he was a native of Gaza.[2]

Eighth Persecution under Ahmed

In the meantime, the favour with which Ahmed beheld the Catholic Church was by no means extended to the Jacobites. A Deacon applied to Chenouda for promotion to the Priesthood, who having assumed the monastic habit, had again left it, and on this account was refused the desired promotion. Indignant at the refusal, he accused Chenouda to Ahmed of having defrauded him of a considerable sum of money. Chenouda, who does not appear to have been conspicuous for his courage, hearing of the accusation laid against him, betook himself to a place of concealment, where he was, however, discovered, and carried to Misra, whither Ahmed summoned all the Prelates of the Jacobite sect. They were stripped of the Episcopal, retaining only the Monastic, habit: promenaded through the city on asses without saddles, and exposed to the insults and jeers of the mob. Chenouda himself, although suffering severely from the gout, was confined for thirty days in prison, with only one companion, until he had satisfactorily proved that he did not possess the money which the unprincipled Deacon accused him of detaining.

* Le Quien, ii. 471. Eutych. ii. 471.

[1] Eutych. ii. 471. Le Quien, ii. 472.

[2] Le Quien conjectures, and not improbably, that he was the same person with John, who is said by Nicephorus Callistus (Lib. xiv. 39), to have been translated by Basil from the See of Majuma to that of Alexandria: Majuma being the sea-port of Gaza. The other reading, which affirms that he was a Roman, will then merely signify that he was a native of Romania, that is, in the language of the Orientals, of the Grecian Empire.

The latter finding that his crime was made evident to all, requested letters of Absolution from the Patriarch: "otherwise," said he, "not a Christian will pray with me in church, or receive me to his house." Chenouda assented; and not only did what was requested, but presented him with a sum of money for travelling expenses, a beast of burden, and three garments, for which he was accused of mistaken clemency by his secretary,[1] from whose account this history was taken by Severus. The answer of Chenouda proves one of two things: either the gross ignorance which at this time existed in the Jacobite Communion as to the practice of Penitence, or, which is more likely, the Patriarch's terror of being again accused to the Emir. "My son," said he, "thou art ignorant that when a sinner dares to receive the Communion of the Eucharist before he shall have confessed his sins before God, and implored pardon, he imagines that by the reception of that Sacrament he becomes a perfect Christian, thinking that it bestows remission of sins, according to that saying in the Gospel, 'This is My Body: take of This for the remission of sins': whereas, by this action his sin is the more increased." He hence argued that it was better to absolve one who had committed a crime of the heinousness with which his accuser stood charged, lest, being unabsolved, he should add to his own condemnation. By the same rule, all Penitential Canons were null and void, since the moment a sinner requests Absolution, that moment ought it to be conferred on him. We shall hereafter have occasion to mention the innovations proposed in the Jacobite Communion on the subject of Confession: but it does not appear that at this period any such notions had been received by it, though the event just related proves a tendency to error on this subject. The Deacon in question soon manifested how insincere had been his penitence, by falsely accusing other Christians: he was therefore arrested by the Emir's order, in the city Sa, or Sais, where he resided, and after being severely scourged, was hardly allowed to escape with his life.

Weakness of Chenouda.

The Patriarch's last years were embittered by another calumny of the same kind, and from which he suffered in nearly a similar way. A Monk, whom he refused to ordain, was the author of this new calamity, in which both the Patriarch, and Simon, re-

[1] Renaudot, 315.

cently ordained by him Bishop of Panephysus, were fellow-sufferers. The former was reputed to have large sums of money, which he expended in propagating Christianity among the Mahometans, whom he secretly dispatched to be baptized in the distant monasteries. The Emir, who had received directions from the Caliph to exterminate the Christian religion in Egypt, (a proof that Ahmed was contented at this time with real, and did not care for nominal, independence), took the matter vigorously in hand, and examined the chests of the Patriarch, in which he was supposed to keep his treasures. They proved to be full of Manuscripts, of which Chenouda was a great collector, and a rich adorner: but besides these, and his Episcopal vestments, for the most part poor, nothing was discovered.

Miserable condition of the Jacobites

We may here make a few remarks on the low state to which all these occurrences prove the Church of Alexandria to have been reduced. The danger of acting out the Canons, when to obey them might be to offend the Emir or the Caliph, opened the door to a long train of abuses: but in nothing more than in the administration of Penitence. The dispensing power of the Patriarchs was often stretched to its utmost limits, and sometimes exceeded them: and there was no tribunal before which they could be arraigned, and no earthly superior whom they could fear. A general synod of Egyptian Bishops might have done much: but these assemblies were, not unnaturally, regarded with feelings of suspicion and dislike by the Mahometans, and seldom took place, except when a convocation of at least twelve Prelates was necessary for the election of a new Patriarch. If ever a Synod was allowed to meet, it was one scene of confusion and disgrace: the minority appealed to the heathen Prince, and made up in brute force what was wanting in justice or in persuasiveness. Excommunication was used as an instrument for the revenge of private wrongs: the celestial power of binding and loosing was prostituted to the subservience of human passions, or the attainment of the objects of earthly ambition. To meet the relaxation of discipline, it was usual for the Bishops, as we shall see, to draw up certain heads or Canons of Reformation, to which they compelled the Patriarch elect to swear assent, before consecration. But this step was of little use: and thus, in the Jacobite Communion, discipline fell lower

and lower, the Patriarchs became more and more careless of their charge, the appeal to the heathen tribunal more and more common, and Absolution little more than a dead letter, till, as we shall have occasion to relate, a Patriarch was judged by his own suffragans, and the evil in some degree remedied.

and the Catholics.

That the Catholic Church suffered equally with her heretical rival, is evident from the wretched vacillation displayed, and the contradictory courses followed, by her Patriarchs in the matter of Photius of Constantinople. This Prelate had been deposed and condemned in that which the Latin Church reckons as the Eighth Œcumenical Council: and that, as we have seen, with the full consent of the Church of Alexandria, as expressed in the person of Joseph, its Legate. But S. Ignatius, re-established in that Synod, having departed to his rest, Photius found means, with the consent of the Emperor, to re-insinuate himself into the Patriarchal Chair: and in order to make his title to its possession good, he obtained the Convocation of another Council. Three hundred and eighty Bishops met at Constantinople: even Rome, with a vacillation most unusual to her, sent her Legates to assist in the re-instatement of the intruder; and John VIII. then proclaimed, either that he himself was now mistaken, or that his predecessor Adrian II. had decided unjustly with the former Synod of Constantinople. Chail of Alexandria, seeing in which direction the Emperor's favour now turned, did not scruple to address Photius as his "thrice blessed colleague and Lord, and Patriarch of Constantinople": that Photius whom Chail I. had, by his Legate, condemned and anathematized. But the Patriarch went further than this. He had, he said in his letter to Photius, learnt from his predecessor the merit of that Bishop: he therefore hastened now to acknowledge him, as he had ever done, rightful Patriarch of Constantinople. And that this acknowledgment might be the more solemn, he had done it with the consent of some of his Metropolitans: Zachary of Tamianthus, James of Babylon, Stephen of Thebes, and Theophilus of Bari.[1] This, as we have said before, is the first mention that occurs of Egyptian Metropolitans.[2] The

Legate at Constantinople.

Chail writes to Photius.

[1] "Qui peut être Barca," says Fleury (xi. 420). We imagine it rather to have been the same with Mare.

[2] It is true, that some doubt rests on the genuineness of this Epistle, and as it is well known that Photius altered

name of Photius was inserted in the Alexandrian diptychs: Joseph, the Legate at the former Synod, was said to have assumed a character he did not possess, and to have died in his sins. This was the substance of the letter brought by the Abbat Cosmas, Legate of "the Abbat Michael, Pope of Alexandria." Cosmas, in common with the other Eastern Legates, supported Photius in his successful opposition to the demands of Rome: and it is remarkable that the acclamations of the Council prayed for long life to the Patriarchs Photius and John: thus reducing the Pope to the second place.

In the meantime Ahmed was bent on erecting the Emirate of Egypt into an independent government: and the feeble rule of Mutamid,[1] the fifteenth Caliph of the House of the Abbasidæ, gave him the opportunity of carrying out his design. The authority of the Caliphs was indeed, at this time, little more than nominal, and the whole of their so-called empire was distracted by sects and disturbance. There was a rebellion in Arabia, under one who gave himself out to be of the House of Ali, which lasted fifteen years: there was the sect of the Carmatians, whence afterwards rose the body of Hassissin, better known by the name of Assassins, and who taught that no Mussulman ought to pay obedience to the usurping race of the Abbasidæ. Some of the pretenders to independence consented to allow a nominal supremacy to the Caliphs: and the latter were only too happy to receive, in token of this precarious vassalage, presents which they applied in inventing new luxuries, in gratuities to their favourites, in toys for their concubines. But, finding this condition insecure, they endeavoured to introduce a body of foreign troops, who unconnected with, and possessing a differing interest from, the rest of their courtiers, might hang on the will of the Prince alone. Such a race they found in the inhabitants of Turkistan, from whom they formed a kind of Prætorian Cohort, with the same design, and with the same fate, as that which was intended by, and which befell, the later Ro-

The Caliphs form a body guard of Turks.

such documents as made against his own pretensions, it is possible that he may have done so in the present instance. But still, as Le Quien very justly observes, (ii. 377), he would in that case have taken care to alter, or compose it, so as to have a truthful appearance, and would not have mentioned Egyptian Metropolitans, had such never existed.

[1] Elmacinus, 159. Renaud. 319.

man Emperors. The Turkish guard soon began to find their obedience to the Caliphs nominal: they influenced their wills, directed their actions, and at length began to depose their persons. Thus despised abroad, and overawed at home, the Caliphs were a mere shadow of power, and one of the most despised of this despised race was Mutamid.

Egypt a Sultanate:

Ahmed, then, seizing his opportunity, renounced allegiance to Mutamid: and not content with Egypt, carried his arms into Syria, of the greater part of which, including Antioch, he became master: and thus laid the first foundation of the Sultanate of Egypt, although, on the deposition of the descendants of Ahmed, a difference was made in the form of government. Against such a rebel, neither Mutamid, nor his brother Muaffek, who under his name carried on the administration, were able to offer any resistance. Muaffek therefore contented himself with excommunicating Ahmed in all the mosques of Bagdad.

Ap. 19,* 881.

Chail III. Patr. lvi. A.D. 881.

Chenouda, after a troublesome Patriarchate of somewhat more than twenty-one years, departed this life; and was succeeded by Chail, the third of that name.[1] His Episcopate was equally distracted with that of his predecessor, and his troubles in it began at an early period. In the Diocese of Saca, the same city anciently known by the name of Xois, was a town called Denuschar, in which place the munificence of some Jacobites had raised a church in honour of S. Ptolemy the Martyr. The Patriarch and many other Bishops were invited to be present at its consecration: a large body of laity were also in attendance. The hour of celebrating the Holy Mysteries drew on: the assembled Prelates grew impatient; and still the Bishop of Saca did not come. Inquiry was made as to the cause that detained him: he was entertaining his friends at a banquet. Respect for the rights of a Bishop within his own Diocese restrained, for some time, the Ecclesiastics who were present: at length, as the morning wore away, they requested Chail to celebrate Mass himself. Won by their solicitations, he consented; and, after having read and expounded the Scriptures, as the manner was, he performed the Oblation—the Illation

[1] Here the history of Severus concludes; and is continued by that of Michael of Tanis.

* This seems the most probable date; but the chronology is very obscure.

which in the Coptic Church precedes, though in the Constantinopolitan Liturgies, under the title of the Great Entrance, it follows, the Epistle and Gospel. Chail had already offered them on the altar, when the Bishop of Saca entered, and furiously demanded why, in his own Diocese, another Prelate had dared to celebrate the Holy Eucharist? Advancing to the altar, he seized the offered, although not consecrated, bread; flung it to the ground, and went out. The Patriarch, again going through the office of Oblation with another Host, finished the Liturgy, and distributed the Communion to the people. But such a monstrous violation, on the part of the Bishop of Xois, of all ecclesiastical order, seemed to demand exemplary punishment: and accordingly, on the following day, the Bishops, who had been present at the Consecration, assembled; and in full Synod deposed the offending Prelate, and ordained another in his room. Following the example which had been, unhappily, so often previously set, the disgraced Bishop repaired to Cairo, and laid his version of the case before Ahmed, then on the point of setting forth on an expedition into Syria, whether for the purpose of enlarging his dominions or of confirming his power in those parts.[1] The Patriarch, said the Bishop of Xois, has wealth enough to defray the expenses of the military expedition which your Highness has in view; the plate which adorns our churches is of extreme value: it needs but a command on your part to obtain them. Ahmed summoned Chail, and desired that every thing belonging to the Christian worship, except the vestments, should be surrendered to the public treasury: and on the Patriarch's refusal, committed him to prison, where he remained for one year. Satisfied, at length, that nothing was to be obtained in this way, Ahmed released Chail, taking bond for the payment of twenty thousand golden pieces; the one half to be paid within one, the other within four, months. For this sum, John, the Emir's secretary, and his son Macarius, became bound; and the wretched Patriarch, totally at a loss how to raise the immense amount required, and probably unwilling to exhibit his misery among his own people, took refuge in a Melchite church,

Atrocious crime of the Bishop of Saca:

he is deposed:

he complains to the Emir.

Chail in prison:

he takes refuge in a

[1] Michael Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 324.

where he was supported by the daily alms of the Jacobites. The month had now nearly expired, and no method of discharging the debt suggested itself: when it was hinted to Chail that ten Sees were vacant, and that possibly ten persons might be found who would be willing to pay for the title of Bishop. This unholy advice was followed: and the money thus simoniacally obtained sufficed to satisfy the rapacity of Ahmed for a time. But the greater part of the amount yet remained undischarged, and to meet the exigencies of the case, the Bishops, assembled in Synod, determined that each should repair to his own Diocese, and exact a small sum from every individual belonging to the Jacobite Communion. The Patriarch, not to be behind-hand in this exertion, visited the monasteries of Wady Habib, and by a kind of legal fiction, deprived the Monks of the places which they had been in the habit of occupying in the parish churches, and sold the right of possession to them again. And this deserves notice, as the earliest instance with which we are acquainted, of the monstrous system whereby traffic is made of the House of God, and that space which ought to be free for all, turned into *seats*, for which it is necessary to pay. We may also observe, that the whole of the above account shews how much the power and influence of the Jacobites had declined since the establishment of the Mahometan tyranny in Egypt. Then, when it was necessary to raise a sum of money to satisfy the rapacity of the Emir, it was sufficient that the Patriarch should (with great bodily fatigue, it is true, but still with the assurance of obtaining that which he desired,) traverse his Diocese; and the sight of him whom they considered the successor of S. Mark, an exile for the sake of religion, exposed to danger, and harassed by want, opened the hearts and unlocked the treasures of those, whether in town or country, among whom he passed. Then the bulk of the native population was Christian: the Mahometans were the aliens and the exceptions. Now, the proportion was mournfully reversed; and such a pilgrimage would evidently, in the case of Chail, have been useless.

Catholic church:

his simoniacal proceedings.

Declining state of Christianity.

The money, however, arising from the united efforts of the Bishops in their Dioceses, and of the Patriarch among the monasteries, not proving sufficient, Chail next repaired to Alex-

andria, where he endeavoured to persuade the Clergy that the ornaments of the churches should be sold to meet the exigency. They positively refused: until, after long contention, Chail bound himself and his successors to pay annually to the Alexandrian Church the sum of a thousand pieces of gold: and this custom lasted for many ages. By these means, half the amount required was at length presented to Ahmed.[1]

Chail's remorse.

Chail, although driven in his distress to use the methods which we have narrated, did not fail to confess and to acknowledge his fault. In his public letters, subsequently to this period, he termed himself, by a slight alteration of his name, Chaïa, that is, *the last:* as thereby signifying that he was the last of the sons of the Church, in that he had violated her most sacred Canons, and dissipated her property. Happy had it been for his successors had he been the last who was guilty of the crying sin of Simony; but it was, in fact, he who opened the door to it. That which he had thus commenced, his successors continued: and the selling and purchasing the gifts of the Holy Ghost for money attained, in course of time, a fearful height; and is, perhaps, a blacker stain on the Jacobite Communion of Alexandria than even its heresy.

A.D. 882. Hamarowia autocephalous Emir.

The rest of the twenty thousand pieces of gold would doubtless have been required, had not Ahmed perished before he could lead his army to Damascus. The bond for the remaining moiety was then returned to Chail. Ahmed was succeeded by his son Hamarowia, the eldest of thirty who survived at his death; and under this prince, the glory of the family of Ahmed, or, as it is generally called, (from Touloun, the father of Ahmed,) the house of the Toulounidæ, rose to a very great height. Hamarowia was master of Egypt and Syria: Alexandria, Antioch, and Tarsus, equally obeyed him. He did, in a certain way, own the authority of Mutadid, the successor of Mutamid in the Caliphate; and both he and the other independent Emirs, who had practically thrown off the yoke of Bagdad, owned the spiritual authority, as successor of Mahomet, of him to whose temporal rule they refused to submit. In this they differed essentially, as we shall have further occasion to notice, from

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 325.

the Fatimidæ, who arrogated to themselves ecclesiastical, no less than civil power, and assumed the title of Caliphs. Hamarowia probably felt that his power was not sufficiently settled to allow of his taking such a step: that the Egyptian Mahometans, viewing the Caliph at Bagdad as the Vicar of their Prophet on earth, would be ill disposed to admit any claim which infringed on this belief: and perhaps, more than all, that some one of the powerful Turkish chiefs in attendance on Mutadid would make religion a pretext for requesting the Emirate of Egypt, and prove a far more formidable rival in actual, than the feeble Caliph was in nominal, power. In fact, Hamarowia paid an annual tribute of two hundred thousand golden pieces to Mutadid, and a still larger sum by way of arrears, for the purpose of obtaining the investiture of all the provinces which his father or himself had held. Desirous of still further strengthening his family, he entered into negotiations for marrying his daughter to the son of Mutadid; but, on receiving an intimation that the Caliph himself was not averse from such a marriage, he willingly altered his plans, and the nuptials were celebrated with the most extraordinary splendour.[1] Every thing which Oriental luxury could suggest, or Oriental wealth execute, was carried out on the largest scale; at every spot where the Princess Katerelneda was to rest, in her journey from Cairo to Bagdad, arose a sumptuous palace; the train which accompanied the bride seemed endless; and the presents were of the costliest and most varied description. Mutadid's willingness to become the son-in-law of Hamarowia, was not altogether the effect of love for his daughter. He well knew the extended views and love of magnificence which characterized the Emir of Egypt; and trusted by stimulating him to a display like that which we have related, to exhaust his treasury, and thus to render him an easier subject of attack, and a more likely object of victory. The treasury at Cairo was in fact emptied; but the designs of Mutadid were rendered unnecessary. The works of Hamarowia had been of the most extensive description; building was his passion: and his palace and hippodrome near Cairo were on the largest scale. His

Marriage of Katerelneda to the Caliph.

Extravagant pomp of the bridal.

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 333. Elmacinus, p. 176. Makrizi, § 405. Eutych. ii. 479.

income, derived from Egypt, amounted to four million three hundred thousand pieces of gold annually. Aware that he could place but little dependence on the fidelity of his servants, he had trained a lioness to lie at his feet during the night: and such was the instinct and faithfulness of the animal that, had his most intimate friend ventured to approach her master while he slept, he would have fallen a victim to her jealous care. But in the year of his daughter's nuptials, being at Damascus, Hamarowia gave orders that a youth who waited on him should, without any fault, be scourged to death: and the fellow-servants of the victim revenged his murder by killing the tyrant, now without his accustomed guard, while he slept. He was succeeded by his son Gisch. He does not appear to have sustained the power left him by his father; for he was in a short time deposed by the Emir of Damascus, and succeeded by his brother Aaron.

Hamarowia's precautions against murder:

he is assassinated.

A.D. 895. Death of Chail II. A.D. 903.* and of *Chail III.* A.D. 899.

Of Chail, the Catholic Patriarch, history has preserved no particulars after the legation of Cosmas to assist in the re-establishment of Photius. He departed this life after an Episcopate of more than thirty years; and the See remained vacant. He had been long preceded to the grave by his namesake, the Jacobite Patriarch, and that See also remained vacant. This double vacancy seems to point to some persecution or affliction which both Communions equally shared: but such is the ignorance or carelessness of the historians of the period, that we are unable to detail its nature, cause, or duration.[1]

* Le Quien, ii. p. 474, gives 906 or 7 as the date. But a comparison of Eutychius with the other historians seems to make that which we have given more likely.

[1] The accounts given by Severus are not less contradictory to the dates of Elmacinus and Makrizi, than unlikely in themselves; and yet we may further gather from them that the misery of the Catholics was increased by persecution from the Jacobites. Pachomius of Saca, probably the successor of that Prelate whose deposition we lately noticed, is said by him to have been high in the favour of Hamarowia; to have waited on him with the news of the consecration of a new Melchite Patriarch; and to have aroused his fears by the accustomed outcry, that the Orthodox would join with the Greek Emperors, in attempting the overthrow of the Mussulman dominions in Egypt. Hamarowia, won by these arguments, dispatched a letter to the Governor of Alexandria by Pachomius, requiring him to act as the latter should direct. By his orders, the Melchite Patriarch was arrested; and the fingers, with which he was accustomed to give the blessing, cut off.

There are here difficulties on all

SECTION XI.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF ABDEL MESSIAH.

After a vacancy of about four years, Abdel Messiah, a native of Aleppo, was raised to the Chair of S. Mark. He was elected at Jerusalem on Easter Eve; and consecrated by Elias, Patriarch of that city. On his arrival in Egypt, the circumstance of his foreign ordination excited the Catholics against him: and they refused to submit to his government, unless the prayers for the benediction of the Patriarch were again repeated. To this Abdel Messiah consented; and an impending schism was thus averted.[1]

Abdel Messiah (Christodulus,) Patr. XLV. A.D. 906. A.M. 622.*

The vacation of the Jacobite See lasted still longer, and it was at length filled by Gabriel, originally a Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, but afterwards domiciled in a religious house of apparently stricter observance, where no Monk was allowed to join in the Hallelujah at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, who could not repeat from memory the whole Psalter. Indeed, Gabriel appears to have been better fitted for the contemplative than for the active life. He shrank from the arduous duties of the Episcopate, and even after his consecration, continued to reside in a religious house, never visiting

Gabriel I. A.D. 913.†

His want of energy:

sides. On the one hand, it is hardly probable that Jacobite historians would chronicle an outrage so audacious on the part of their sect, if it had never taken place. But on the other hand, it is certain that Hamarowia did not succeed to the government till after the elevation of Chail II. to the Patriarchate, and died before its conclusion. Again, if we imagine the name of Hamarowia to have been a mistake for that of one of his successors, and Abdel Messiah to have been the victim of Jacobite malice, how is it possible to conceive that Eutychius, the immediate successor of Abdel Messiah, should either have been ignorant of the cruelty the latter had suffered, or knowing it, have failed to insert it in his history?

[1] Eutych p. 488. Le Quien, ii. 474.

* This date is attended with very serious difficulties; as also those of the decease of the two Chails. See Renaudot, pp. 328, 9.

† All the historians,—Elmacinus, Makrizi, and the Chronicon Orientale,—make the See vacant fourteen years. In the date of the accession of Gabriel, we follow Elmacinus. Sollerius prefers the dates 896 and 909.

Misra or Alexandria, except when summoned by urgent business, and even then returning as soon as possible to his beloved solitude. The same love of quiet may be seen in the answer which he returned when pressed to give in his Confession of Faith; a custom which, as we have before noticed, was practised by the Jacobite Patriarchs on their election, and of which this is the first express example. No new Confession of Faith, he said, was necessary; the Creed of Nicæa was an impregnable bulwark against all heresies; the Confession of the Three Hundred and Eighteen might well suffice for himself. This answer, however plausible it might sound, was of course lamentably weak; inasmuch as Gabriel must well have known that the Melchites and Nestorians, no less than himself, admitted the Faith of Nicæa.[1]

his simony.

The Alexandrian Clergy insisted on the stipend to which the preceding Patriarch had bound his successors. To meet this demand he continued, but with less palliation for the crime, the simoniacal ordinations of his predecessor.

A.D. 912 or 913. Destruction of the Cæsarea.

The church of the Cæsarea, of which we have before had occasion to speak, built from the remains of a temple raised by Cleopatra to Saturn, was burnt down in the first year of this Patriarch, if not before his consecration. It had been seized by the Jacobites under Benjamin, and restored to the Catholics under Cosmas: to which of the two Communions it now belonged, is not certainly known; the probability appears to be, that it was in the possession[2] of the Melchites.

Exactions of Gabriel.

Gabriel continued the exaction of one golden piece from each member of his Communion, which Chail had established. There can be no doubt that this tribute also was not without its effect in causing some to apostatize to Mahometanism. It might certainly be complained of as a hardship that, since the very profession of Christianity entailed a heavier tax than was borne by the Mahometans, the Patriarchs should, without pressing need, impose a second tax on their already oppressed brethren.

The youth and incapacity of Aaron suggested to his uncles, two of the sons of Ahmed, the possibility of obtaining his

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 330. [2] Eutych. ii. 503. Renaudot, 331.

empire for themselves. This enterprise, however, was fatal to the family of the Toulounidæ. Moctasi, the successor of Mutadid, and seventeenth of the Abbaside Caliphs, raised Schiban, Vizir of Egypt, to its Emirate: and having by this method utterly overthrown the empire which, under Hamarowia, had been so formidable, dispatched Muhamed the son of Soliman as Emir in the place of Schiban. Apparently anxious that the Governor of Egypt should not again have time to consolidate a power which might resist the Caliphate, Moctasi, in the course of a few years, twice changed the Emir: and thus the Caliphs regained, in spite of their sinking influence, some power over the Province of Egypt. Muctadir succeeded Moctasi; and under his Caliphate, Gabriel, of whose actions nothing further is related, was elevated to the See of Alexandria; and after an Episcopate of about eleven years, was succeeded by Cosmas.

Fall of the Toulounidæ.

A.D 907.

It would appear that, since the ordination of John as Metropolitan of Ethiopia by Jacob, and his re-instatement under Yuçab, about a hundred years previously, no application had been made to Alexandria for a new Abuna. In the meantime disorders of all kinds prevailed in that remote region; and it is not improbable that it was in this century, in the absence of all ecclesiastical discipline, that the Emperors of Ethiopia took upon them those sacerdotal functions, the knowledge of which was carried, in the middle ages, into Europe, under the celebrated title of Prester, that is, Presbyter, John. We are informed by Abuselah, (and there seems no reason why we should call his testimony into question,) that all the Emperors of Ethiopia considered themselves invested with priestly power; celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and considered it forbidden by the holiness of their character to slay any animal with their own hands. If they transgressed this tradition, they not only lost the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, but, which seems even more singular, all the laws which they had made since the beginning of their reigns became *ipso facto* invalid. We may probably believe that this assumption of a character entirely foreign to them arose at a time when the succession of Bishops had entirely failed, from an honest, although ill-informed, zeal on the part of the Emperors to maintain a knowledge of the Christian religion among their subjects; and it was rendered easier because, like

Cosmas III. Patr. lviii. A.D. 923.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

Prester John.

all the East, Ethiopia was governed by that custom, which (though after the Jacobite heresy had broken out,) was embodied in the Canons of the Quinisext Council, and which permitted the marriage of Priests. Such is the impenetrable obscurity which hangs over Ethiopic history, that the labours of learned men have been able to throw little or no light on the subject we are considering. That the sacerdotal power of the Ethiopic monarchs arose somewhere about the date to which our history has now arrived, is highly probable; and it is not impossible, as we said above, that it had its origin in the century which elapsed between the Episcopates of Jacob and of Cosmas III. On this subject, however, we have already treated in our Introduction, and we will therefore consider it no further in this place.

Cosmas, it would appear, was requested to send another Metropolitan into this distant and neglected region, and the Ecclesiastic on whom his choice fell was named Peter.[1] He was received with much honour by, and acquired considerable influence over, the Emperor, who, on his death-bed, summoned him to his side, and gave the crown into his care, and, at the same time, commending his two sons to him, spoke as follows: —"Thou art," said he, "the Vicar of CHRIST the King and Mighty GOD, in Whose Power are all the kingdoms of the world: my kingdom and my sons I give into thy charge, that thou mayest govern them according to the Will of GOD: him then whom thou shalt consider the worthier of the kingdom, him appoint to be king." On the death of the Emperor, the Abuna faithfully fulfilled the duty imposed on him; and, in process of time, finding that the younger brother gave the brighter promise of excellence, he availed himself of the power of choice, and preferred him to the firstborn. Shortly afterwards two vagabond Monks, of that class against whom so many Canons have been at different times made, came into Egypt, and applied to the Abuna for money, which he, either unable through circumstances, or unwilling from his knowledge of the character of the applicants, refused to bestow on them. They devised the following method of revenge. One of them assumed the epis-

The Abuna Peter Regent:

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. p. 339. Le Quien ii. 648.

copal habit, and gave himself out as bearer of letters from the Patriarch of Alexandria, to the effect that he had heard, with infinite surprise and regret, that an impostor, named Peter, had appeared in Ethiopia, professing to have been ordained as Metropolitan, but neither ordained by, nor in Communion with, himself; that the rightful Metropolitan was Mennas, the bearer of this epistle; that it was the duty of all true sons of the Church to expel the usurper, and to install the rightful Abuna in his dignity; and that this course was the more needful, since, contrary to every principle of justice, the intruder had preferred the younger son of the late Emperor to his elder brother, and raised him to the throne. The elder of the two princes had, up to this time, been leading the life of a private individual, with few friends or courtiers: but on receiving the intelligence which the supposititious letters conveyed, he, not unnaturally, turned his thoughts to the kingdom of which he had been deprived, and determined to risk a struggle for its possession. He assembled such forces as he could muster, and marched against his brother: the two armies met, and the reigning sovereign was taken prisoner. Pursuing his advantage, the victor threw his rival into prison, instituted Mennas, the principal of the two monks, to the dignity which he claimed, and drove Peter into exile. Victor, the companion of Mennas, probably chagrined at finding himself unnoticed or unelevated, pilfered the cell of the new Metropolitan, and, escaping into Egypt, gave notice to the Patriarch of the fraud practised in his name. On receiving this intelligence, Cosmas excommunicated the offender; and the Emperor of Ethiopia punished him with death, and gave orders for the recall of Peter. The latter had, however, also departed this life; but a disciple, who had accompanied him into banishment, was summoned to Axum, and there elevated by the Emperor to the Episcopate. He requested leave to go into Egypt, in order to obtain consecration from the Patriarch, and promised that on succeeding in this object he would return. The Emperor absolutely denied; and in spite of the remonstrances of the Metropolitan-elect, compelled him to perform the Episcopal functions, without receiving Episcopal consecration. Why, under this state of things, the Abuna did not receive consecration from some of his suffragans, it is difficult

he is banished.

Deceit of Mennas.

to say; for though he would thus have been guilty of a double breach of the Canons, which, in the first place, enjoined that the Metropolitans of Ethiopia should be consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and, in the second, required twelve Prelates to be present at the consecration of a Metropolitan, it would surely have been preferable to choose so comparatively slight a breach of ecclesiastical discipline, rather than with profane mockery to perform functions for which the party performing them had never received power. Yet in this wretched state did the Ethiopic Church remain for about seventy years, the new Abuna either not professing to consecrate suffragans, or, if he did, doing it as it were in solemn mockery of veritable consecration.

Succession in the Emirate.

In the meantime the political situation of Egypt was deplorable. It was the policy, we have before observed, of the Caliph to bring about a frequent change of Emirs; more than one who was deprived by him had the good fortune or dexterity to supplant those to whom he had for a time been compelled to yield. One in particular, by name Tekin, was, after his deprivation, restored to the Emirate no less than three times. Bribery was powerful at Bagdad, and was unsparingly employed by the Emirs; and this obliged them to have recourse to exactions and extortions in order to obtain the money which was to support them in their dignity.

The general confusion and misery of this period have deprived the ecclesiastical historian of any satisfactory materials. There can be no doubt that, of the many who suffered, the Christians suffered most; but no further trace of persecution is left, than that Muctadir[1] forbade the employment of Christians and Jews in any other capacity than as physicians or merchants; and that, on a new tribute being imposed[2] by one of the numerous Emirs on the Bishops and Monks, a Christian embassy to Bagdad procured an order from the same Caliph to the effect that nothing in addition to the usual tax should be exacted from them.

It appears, however, that the Catholics, though doubtless grievously oppressed, were not altogether without shewing signs of life and energy. Some years previously, the church of S. Buctor, or S. Victor, at Tanis, which belonged to them,

[1] Ebn-Werdi, Hist. Egypt. Renaudot, 343. [2] Makrizi, § 414.

having been thrown down by the Infidels, they began to rebuild it, but their work was brought to a stand-still by a second attack of the Mahometans, who pulled down the rising walls. Yet even thus the orthodox persevered; and, at length, under the protection of the Caliph, they succeeded in finishing the church.[1]

SECTION XII.

PATRIARCHATE OF EUTYCHIUS.

Said Ebn-Batrich, (Eutychius). Patr. XLVI. A.D. 933. A.M. 549.

Abdel-Messiah having been called to his account, the celebrated annalist, Eutychius, succeeded to the Chair of S. Mark. His real name was Said Ebn-Batrich; but he was usually known by the Greek translation of Said, which signifies Fortunate. Born at Cairo,[2] in the year 876,[3] he distinguished himself by his attachment to the theory and practice of Medicine,[4] and historical studies, particularly those connected with the Church. We find four works of Eutychius mentioned. The first, a treatise on Medicine; the second, to which he himself refers, the Disputation between a Christian and a heretic; the third his "Contexture of Gems," *i. e.*, his Annals of Alexandrine History; and the fourth, which was extant at a comparatively late period, and therefore undoubtedly is so now, a similar work on the History of Sicily, after its invasion by the Saracens. The only mediæval writer of the Western Church by whom he is quoted is William of Tyre, who speaks of him as a "venerable man, Seith the son of Patric."

The reader will already have formed a tolerably correct idea of the value of his Annals. They are inscribed, in an affectionate address, to Isa-ebn-Batrich, his brother. "May God,"—it is thus

[1] Eutych. ii. 513.

[2] Eutych. ii. 527.

[3] Selden. Præf. in Eutych. But all that Preface lies justly open to Renaudot's charge, that Selden did not write it so much for the purpose of assisting his readers, as of displaying his own erudition. He also sometimes displays his ignorance: as where he says that Eutychius was born when Ahmed-ebn-Touloun was *Caliph* of Egypt.

[4] Ahmed-ben-Casem, Vit. Medic. ap. Selden.

that his work commences,—"give thee, my brother, the fairest and best of fair things, and avert from thee the worst and most hurtful of all events: may He cover thee with the veil of His protection, and continue to thee His power: may He give thee an inheritance in both worlds, and a portion in both states: may He make thee to understand all things that please Him, nor separate thee from His Presence with those that He removes therefrom."

His character and writings.

Grossly ignorant on many points, as we had occasion to observe when dwelling on the wonderful tale which he relates of the Presbyteral College of S. Mark, and extremely careless in his relation of facts and arrangement of dates, he has yet laid the Church under a considerable obligation by his preservation of the names of the Alexandrian Patriarchs who preceded him. It is true that, beyond a bare list, he has given us little; and we hardly become aware of his value till we have lost him. In the earlier parts of Alexandrian history, where his value is least, we have light from other quarters: in advancing towards his own time, we are indebted to him for almost all that we know of the Catholic Church in Egypt. It does not appear that he ever intentionally misleads his readers, or endeavours to render the actions of the Jacobites more odious than they were: nay, for the knowledge of some of their most monstrous proceedings, we are indebted, as we had occasion to observe in the history, true or false, of Pachomius of Xois, to Jacobite writers alone. To the higher qualifications of an historian, Eutychius has not a single claim: his compression of an event which has affected the whole existence of the Church into a few lines, may be followed by the allotment of pages to the trifling annals of an obscure Caliph, and the theological digressions with which he intersperses his history are very wearisome. How deeply should we have been indebted to this author had he, instead of his Annals, given us a concise, clear, and graphic description of the state of the Catholic Church in Egypt under himself and his immediate predecessors! As it is, the historian of Alexandria cannot but rejoice when the painful necessity of keeping the tedious "Annals" close at hand terminates, as it does, with the present page. Deserted by Eutychius, we find ourselves, as respects the true Church, in an almost impenetrable mist or

darkness. For the list, such as it is, of the succeeding Patriarchs, we are indebted to the labours of Le Quien. He procured at Cairo the names of those who were said to have been raised to the Patriarchate between Eutychius and his own time; but it is, as he himself modestly confesses, plainly imperfect.

Eutychius was also distinguished, as we have said, in the Medical art; to which profession many Christians turned their attention, and in which, judging from the edict of Muctadir, mentioned above, they would appear, more particularly at this time, to have been especial proficients. In the fifty-eighth year of his age he was called to succeed Abdel-Messiah; and he held the Evangelical Throne rather more than seven years.

Macarius, Patr. lix. A.D. 931.

Cosmas was succeeded by Macarius,[1] concerning whose proceedings history is nearly silent. He is said to have been greatly indebted to the early instructions of his mother.[2] Immediately after his ordination, he left Alexandria, and could not be prevailed upon to take up his residence in that city[3]: and since the havoc which Chail III. had made of the possessions of the Church, it is not wonderful that his successors should have felt an aversion from dwelling among the remembrancers and testimonials of departed glory. The mother of Macarius survived at his accession; and, anxious to see her, he visited, accompanied by several of his Suffragans, the place of his birth. Expecting probably to receive her congratulations on his elevation, he was not a little chagrined when, bursting into tears, she exclaimed that she would rather have seen him in his coffin, than surrounded with the pomp and magnificence in which she then beheld him; that in the former case he would have been required to answer for his own sins alone, in the latter, all the errors of his people would be required at his hand.

he leaves Alexandria.

In the meantime, Egypt had again become an independent province. Muctadir, after reigning twenty-five years,[4] a longer time than any preceding Caliph had enjoyed the crown, was cut

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. p. 344. Le Quien, ii. 475. Wansleb. p. 433, who following Abu'lberkat, gives 949. Sollerius, p. 29*, who gives 938.

[2] So the Ethiopian eulogist. Sollerius, p. 91*.

[3] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. 344.

[4] Elmacinus, p. 192. Abulfaraj, p. 285. Renaudot, p. 344.

A.D. 931. off in an engagement with a rebel; and succeeded by Mahomed Abulmansor Kahirbilla, who only reigned for two years, and being deposed, was allowed, through contempt, to live, but compelled to earn his subsistence by asking alms at the door of the Mosques. A son of Muctadir, called Ahmed Abul Abbas, succeeded, commonly known by the name of El Redi. He found that the Caliph was, even in his own court, little better than a shadow of royalty, the real power of the government being wielded by the Vizir. To this office he accordingly put an end; but unfortunately for himself established in its place another minister, whom he called Emir of Emirs. This officer encroached still more on the Caliph's jurisdiction than the obnoxious Vizirs had done: they had at least respected his spiritual character, but the Emir of Emirs usurped his office in the Mosque no less than in the palace or the field. The[1] various provinces of the Caliphate were in the hand of various powerful families, who acknowledged the Caliph no further than as the Prophet's Vicar in spiritual matters, while with the actual power, they assumed also to themselves the title, of kings. It was under the Caliphate of Abulmansor, that Mahomed Akchid, being appointed to the Emirate of Egypt, constituted himself a sovereign prince in it, and possessed his kingdom so entirely, as to be able to leave it to his children.

Rapid decline of the Caliphate.

Mahomed Akchid autocephalous Emir of Egypt.

Disputes between Eutychius and the Melchites.

Eutychius, in the meantime, was harassed by the internal divisions of the Melchites;[2] on what ground these arose, we are not informed. At length they reached such a pitch, as to attract the attention of Akchid, who, in order that he might take an easy method of putting a stop to them, dispatched a body of soldiers to Tanis, who seized the treasures of the church, and carried them to the Emir's palace at Misra. Their value,[3] if we may believe Jacobite historians, was immense; and their loss served to reunite the Orthodox under their common persecution. The Bishop of Tanis, on applying for the restitution of the property of his church, received for answer that he should receive it, if he could raise the sum of five thousand pieces of gold. In order to accomplish this, he sold the

[1] Renaudot, p. 345. Elmacin. p. 203.

[2] Elmacin. p. 208. Renaudot, 346. George Ebnol Amda. Hist. Sarac. iii. 1. ap. Pococke, Vit. Eutych.

[3] Elmacinus, lib. iii. p. 209.

property which still belonged to his church at a price far below its value, and it shews the uprightness of Akchid, in a matter where his own avarice was not concerned, that on hearing of this proceeding he compelled the purchasers to pay the real worth.

The name of Eutychius must have been, in his own day, highly esteemed: for not only is his history mentioned and employed by heretical historians, like Elmacinus, but even by Mahometans as Makrizi.

Theophylact of Constantinople.

It would appear that the bonds of friendship between the Eastern Churches were not at this time very close. Theophylact, raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 933, wrote to the Thrones of Alexandria and Antioch, requesting the insertion of his name in the diptychs; the custom of thus commemorating the Patriarchs of Constantinople having ceased, it would appear, since the times of the Ommiadæ.[1]

A.D. 937, or 938.

Eutychius only held the See seven years,[2] and departing this life at Alexandria, was succeeded by Sophronius,[3] of whom we know nothing but the name.

SECTION XIII.

PATRIARCHATE OF SOPHRONIUS II.

Sophronius II. Patr. XLVII. A.D. 940. A.M. 656.

Macarius survived Eutychius for fourteen years: but of the later actions of his life we are altogether ignorant. The obscurity which pervades this part of Alexandrian History, is not easily explicable: unless we imagine that the civil commotions of this troublesome era, either hindered the composition, or

[1] Eutych. ii. 531.

[2] Fleury says, "Il fut presque toujours en division avec son peuple, dont la plupart etoient Jacobites." (xii. 17.) It is evident that there could have been no more disputes between the Jacobites and Eutychius, than between the same heretics and any preceding Patriarch: the two Communions being totally distinct. And Fleury's continuation, that the exactions of Akchid forced them all to assemble in the same church, is plainly erroneous.

[3] This name is only known from the Cairo catalogue sent to Le Quien.

destroyed the manuscripts of those private memoirs of Jacobite Prelates, which Severus unites and connects in his history.

Theophanius, Patr. lx. A.D. 954.

The successor of Macarius was Theophanius,[1] whose election involved the Jacobite Communion in great trouble. He was already worn out with years and infirmities when raised to the Patriarchal dignity. At the commencement of his Episcopate

His dispute with his Clergy:

he paid to the Church of Alexandria the annual pension of a thousand pieces of gold which had been covenanted by Chail III.: but finding this exaction a heavy drain on his resources, he called the Clergy of Alexandria together, and requested them either to disclaim altogether their right to it, or if this were too great a sacrifice, to lower the yearly sum which had been promised. They obstinately refused to pursue either the one or the other course; and words ran high between the Patriarch and his Clergy. Some of the latter insolently observed, that he had no right to take upon himself the responsibility of thus openly rebuking those who were his equals in every thing but in the Patriarchal Vestments, vestments which he owed, not to himself, but to those who had elevated him to the dignity which he held. In impotent fury, Theophanius tore his Episcopal robes from his shoulders, flung them on the ground, and trampled on them: and at the same moment was

he is seized with frenzy,

seized with frenzy. In order to secure his safety, it was necessary to put him into chains, and as his disease did not diminish, and a similar occurrence had never yet taken place at Alexandria, a synod of Bishops appears to have met, to take such steps in this emergency as might seem advisable. For the sake of medical treatment, it was determined to remove Theophanius to Misra, and as the journey by water was the easier, he was put on board a ship, and accompanied by several of the Clergy and some Bishops. The motion of the vessel increased his frenzy: his madness took a religious turn; and the blasphemies which he

blasphemes,

uttered, proceeding even to the denial of CHRIST, were too horrible to be borne. He was therefore thrust down into the hold: and as evening drew on, he became more and more furious. During the night, as his outcries were heard over the ship, one of the Bishops descended into the hold, and put an end to his

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. p. 349. Le Quien, ii. 476. Wansleb. 313. Sollerius, p. 91*. Makrizi, § 424.

life by suffocating him, or as others say, by compelling him to drink poison; and his dead body was thrown overboard. Thus perished this wretched Prelate[1] in the fifth year of his Episcopate: and God, say the Jacobite historians, took away from him His Grace and Lovingkindness.[2] and is put to death.

It may be observed that Theophanius was the first of a series of Patriarchs, who were the disgrace, and had almost proved the ruin, of their sect. Hitherto the greater part of these Ecclesiastics have been men of respectable moral character: the majority of their successors, for the next two hundred years, will be found examples of little more than ambition and vice.

To Sophronius, as Catholic Patriarch, succeeded Isaac, and to him Job; but the years of their elections, the time that they sat, and their actions of the Episcopates, are alike unknown. Isaac, Patr. XLVIII. A.D. ?

In the meanwhile, the poor shadows of Caliphs retained their nominal authority. El Redi, however, was the last who possessed the right of offering prayer in the tribunal of the Mosque at Bagdad: and his successors sank, if possible, lower than himself. His brother Moctasi, who succeeded him, was, when driven from his throne, generously invited by Akchid into Egypt, where he led a private life for more than twenty years.[3] To pursue the successors of this prince, would be alike tedious and unprofitable: it will be sufficient for us to confine our attention, for the future, to the succession of the Egyptian Emirs.[4] Job, Patr. XLIX. A.D. ?

The successor of Theophanius, named Mina, or Mennas, was raised to the Patriarchate on the recommendation of an aged Monk, who after being himself elected, refused to undertake the responsibility with which it was sought to invest him. Mina *Mina II. Patr. lxi.* A.D. 964.*

[1] Elmacinus, p. 229. Renaudot, p. 350.

[2] Renaudot, p. 350. Elmacin. p. 229. It is singular enough that Theophanius is inserted in the Ethiopic Calendar, (Dec. 6,) an honour not conceded to many of his immediate successors. We must either suppose its framers ignorant of his fate, or regarding him as the victim of a conspiracy. In the latter case, it is strange that his Ethiopic eulogist does not allude to the fact.

[3] Renaud. p. 350.

[4] They also are only known from the Cairo Catalogue.

* Some years' vacancy are marked by Le Quien, (ii. 477) between the death of Theophanius and the election of Mina, though not expressly mentioned by the Jacobite historians, because some give him eighteen, others only eleven or twelve years of Episcopate. (Ren. 355.)

had been married, but had preserved continence: the murmurs therefore which were raised against the new Patriarch by a knowledge of the former fact, were soon dispersed by the discovery of the latter, though the strictness of the Canons was violated.[1]

SECTION XIV.

RISE OF THE FATIMIDÆ.

Rise of the Fatimidæ.

Egypt was now about to experience a change of masters. To explain its occurrence, we must go back to the year 910. Before this time, an Arabian Dervish, by name Abdallah, had preached, more particularly near Bassora, that the blood of Ali and of his sons cried for vengeance; that the family of the Abbasidæ were usurpers, not only of the temporal dignity, but of the spiritual office of the Caliphate; that it was the will of God to remove them from their dignity: that their partisans must be overcome with the strong arm; and that his followers were commissioned to work out His Will. In the name of God he promised that the Meheden, (that is, the last of the family of Ali, and whom the Persians yet expect,) would shortly appear: and to verify this prophecy, he shortly afterwards exhibited Obeidallah as the promised deliverer. This chief, assembling his already numerous partisans, made an expedition into Africa, which was then an hereditary Emirate under the nominal authority of the Caliph, defeated its governors, and took Kirowan, their principal city, built, when the Mahometans first seized Africa, a short distance from the ancient Carthage. Obeidallah fixed his seat in a new city, which he called Mehedia; compelling all his subjects not only to swear allegiance to him, but to profess their belief in the right of the descendants of Ali to enjoy the Caliphate. Two successors quietly consolidated the empire of the first of the Fatimidæ: the third, Muazzi, though desirous to extend his dominions, did not venture to make any attack on Egypt

They seize Africa,

[1] Le Quien, ii. 476. Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. p. 351. Wansleb. p. 323. Makrizi, § 425. Sollerius, p. 91*. Our Catalogue from Alexandria calls him *Matthew*.

during the Emirate of Akchid. But on the death of that prince, he dispatched an expedition into Egypt, which was, under the able generalship of Jauher, perfectly successful. The latter on obtaining possession of Misra, compelled those whom he had vanquished to swear to the right of the Fatimidæ: and thus Egypt was till the time of Saladin, spiritually as well as temporally, lost to the Abbasidæ. In the same year, Jauher began to build New Cairo; and it will not be amiss to say a few words in this place on the city which the new town supplanted. The original name[1] of Old Cairo was Babylon: the name was derived from some captives, who, brought into Egypt by Sesostris, were employed by him in servile labours: but who, weary at length of their slavery, rebelled, and occupying a strong situation near the river, maintained a successful war with their surrounding oppressors. At length they were allowed to retain quiet possession of this spot, which, from the name of their own country they called Babylon.[2] It would also appear to have occupied nearly the same situation with that of the ancient Memphis: and that part of the city on the Western bank of the river is to this day called Menf or Menuf. In the first Mahometan invasion under Amrou, that general, in besieging Misra, occupied a situation afterwards possessed by a town, thence called Fostat, that is, the Tent, and sometimes Fostat-Misra, and it was here that Jauher laid the foundations of New Cairo.[3]

invade Egypt,

and conquer it, A.D. 968.

Foundation of New Cairo.

Muazzi at length determined to transfer the seat of his empire to Cairo: which thenceforward became the head of the Empire of the descendants of Ali: generally known by the name of the Fatimidæ, from Fatima, the only child of Mahomet, and wife of Ali. The Abbasidæ, as we have before said, employed black for the colour of their Royal Banner, and for the tapestry used in the Mosque: Muazzi, by way of marking his distinction from them, chose white: and this custom prevailed among the African and Egyptian Mahometans until the present time.[4]

A.D. 972. Seat of the Fatimide Caliphate transferred thither.

The conquest of Egypt was achieved with little opposition,

[1] Diod. Sic. i. Le Quien, ii. 355.

[2] Renaudot, with Jacobus Golius, gives another derivation, p. 366.

[3] 1 S. Pet. v. 13.

[4] Renaudot, pp. 253, 4.

and without much loss of life. But a famine prevailed for seven years after the establishment of the empire of the Fatimidæ, in which multitudes perished: and so great was the devastation among the Christians, that several Episcopal Sees remained vacant, because there was no flock over whom a Prelate might preside, and were joined to the nearest Dioceses. Mina himself remained in Lower Egypt, where he was sustained by the charity of a wealthy lady.[1]

Correspondence of Mina with John of Antioch.

Mina was closely connected with John the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who addressed two letters to him, which are still extant. In one we have a curious account of a dispute between this heretical Prelate and the Emperor, which is, however, hardly sufficiently connected with Alexandrian history to warrant us in here detailing it.[2] The other contains a confession of Faith.[3]

Death of Mina, Nov. 11, 976. Elias, Patr. L. circ. A.D. 968. A.M. 684.

From the former of these we learn that Elias was now the Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria. On the death of Mina, who held the See, as we have before remarked, about twelve years, and from whom a synodal Epistle to John of Antioch is still extant[4]; the Bishops and Scribes of the Diœcese and Clergy of Alexandria, met in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Misra,[5] to deliberate on his successor. Ephraem,[6] a Syrian merchant, who happened to enter the church at the time the Council was sitting, and was not only of known religion, but of some influence with the Caliph,—for by this title we must henceforth designate the governors of Egypt,—was elected by the unanimous suffrages of the Synod. He found two corruptions prevalent among his clergy. The one, that of simony, the other, of concubinage. On the latter, we may remark, that the relaxed morals of the Clergy of the Western Patriarchate, at the same era, where celibacy was enforced, would hardly appear to have been worse than that of the Egyptian Ecclesiastics, to whom

Ephraem, Patr. lxii. A.D. 977.

his attempts at reform.

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 354.

[2] Cod. Seguieran. ap. Renaud. p. 356. The Epistle is given at length, and more correctly by Asseman, B. O. ii. 133. seq.

[3] Asseman, B. O. ii. 132.

[4] Paul. Ebn Regia de Fid. Patrum, ap. Asseman, B. O. ii. 132.

[5] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaud. p. 366.

[6] Wansleb. p. 323. Sollerius. p. 91*. Makrizi, § 426. Sollerius, and our Alexandrian Catalogue call him Abraham.

marriage was allowed. Against both these corruptions Ephraem set his face like a rock: and not only strove against them in his life, but testified against them by his death.

Severus Bishop of Aschemin.

As if to compensate the Jacobites for the genius and learning of Eutychius, and the influence which, by his means, the Catholic Church enjoyed, they at this time possessed one of their brightest ornaments in the person of Severus, Bishop of Aschmonin, the celebrated Historian and Divine. Aschmonin or Aschemin, situated in Thebais-Prima, is the same with Hermopolis Magna. The works of this Prelate are very numerous, but hardly anything of his writing has as yet been printed. The History, which has chiefly made his name famous, is a work of little judgment and less accuracy. The palpable mistakes to be discovered in it, the fables with which it abounds, the perversions of truth to serve the ends of his party, its tediousness and unsatisfactoriness, would have deprived it of all value, had it not been, in the times of which it treats, our only guide. It was continued by Michael, Bishop of Tanis, who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century, Mauhoub ben Mansour, Marcus ben Zaraa, and others.

Works of Severus.

His controversial works embrace, a Jacobite Exposition of the Faith: a Treatise against Eutychius: an Explanation of the Mystery of the Incarnation: a work against the Nestorians; and another of Heresies. But he also wrote a Commentary of the Gospels: a Treatise on Ecclesiastical Rites: on the Unity of God; and a Confession, with many others.[1] Indeed, his genius appears to have been of a widely extended nature: for we find that he was the author of a book of Parables and Œnigmas. The most esteemed, however, of all his works was that on "the Passover and the Eucharist": which appears to have been frequently used by the Jacobites as a preparation to the Holy Communion.

Revenge of Abu'lserour,

The condition of the Christians, during the reign of Muazzi, appears to have been far superior to that under the dominion of the Caliphs. There was, however, one Abu'lserour, a Jacobite

[1] Which the reader will find named by Renaudot, p. 368: who has collected their titles with great care from MSS., and from Abu'lberkat and Ebnassal.

of great influence, and possessing a place in the Caliph's Court, who persisted in retaining a number of concubines, after having been admonished by the Patriarch of his sin, and invited to repentance. Finding him incorrigible, Ephraem pronounced him excommunicate; and Abu'lserour, indignant at this proceeding, revenged himself by causing poison to be administered[1] to the Patriarch, who might thus, had he been a member of the True Church, have claimed the glory of a Martyr.[2]

and death of Ephraem, Jan. 26, 980.

His successor was of a far different character. The Bishops who were assembled for the choice of a Patriarch, turned their thoughts to John, the eldest Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, who for the sake of greater privacy dwelt in a cell called Zakar-el-Fakara. On sending for him, they found him worn out with old age, and entirely unequal to the office for which they had designed him: but struck with the appearance of a disciple, Philotheus, who accompanied him, they elevated him to the vacant Throne.[3] It was not long before he gave ample proof how much they had been mistaken in his character. His predecessor had abolished the simoniacal consecrations of which Chail III. had given the first example: but Philotheus, although without the excuse of Mahometan exactions, as the Christians, during his Episcopate, enjoyed profound peace, renewed, and carried still further, the practice of Simony.

*Philotheus, Patr. lxiii. A.D. 981.**

[1] Elmacinus, p. 246. Renaud. p. 371.

[2] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 371. Elmacin. p. 246. Makrizi §.

[3] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 373. Sollerius, p. 92*. Le Quien, ii. 479. Wansleb. p. 323. Elmacinus, p. 246. Our Alexandrian Catalogue calls him Philothadus: Michael of Tanis sometimes names him Theophilus: and Erpenius, in his version of Elmacinus, through a false reading of his MS., Philoporius. This mistake gives Sollerius some trouble.

* This date is rendered difficult by the assertion of all the historians, that Muazzi, who died A.D. 975, was alive at the election of Philotheus. Renaudot notices this contradiction, but does not attempt to explain it, p. 373.

SECTION XV.

THE HISTORY OF VASAH.

History of Vasah.

Under the Patriarchate of Philotheus, a remarkable incident happened, which, though not uncorrupted by fables, is handed down to us on good authority, and in itself deserves relation. There was at Misra, a Mahometan of noble birth, named Rejah, who was one of the Caliph's councillors. His son, Vasah, was diligently instructed by his father in the principles of his own faith, and evincing an early fondness for theological learning, became such a proficient as to know the Koran by memory. He was at the same time, as might naturally be expected, an eager opponent of the Christians: and rejoiced, on every occasion which presented itself, to manifest his hatred to their Creed. It chanced that, one day, in crossing the market-place of his native city, his attention was attracted by a crowd who were accompanying a criminal to execution: on inquiry he discovered that the sufferer was one who, having been brought up in Mahometanism, had embraced Christianity, and was condemned, as an Apostate, to the stake. Vasah, eager to shew his zeal for the faith of his forefathers, pressed through the crowd, and advancing to the prisoner upbraided him with his madness in acknowledging three Gods, and thus exposing his body to the flames in this world, and consigning his soul to everlasting fire in the next. The Martyr calmly replied, that he worshipped One God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity: and that the very youth who now so bitterly insulted the Christian Faith, would in the course of time, and the leading of God's good Providence, embrace it, propagate it, and suffer for it. This prediction enraged Vasah to such a degree, that loosing his sandal, he struck the prisoner over the head, and continued his insults to the place of punishment. The Martyr was beheaded, and his body thrown into a pile of wood, which burned for some time without consuming it: it was then, by the order of Muazzi, honoured with burial. Vasah, on his return home, passed a sleepless night; the words

Vasah's zeal for Mahometanism;

he insults a Martyr:

of the Martyr still seemed to ring in his ears: the consolations of his father and his relations were vain: and he could not persuade himself that the prediction would be unfulfilled. Some time after he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca: and was entrusted by his father to the care of a friend, bound on the same journey. His dreams were thrice disturbed by the appearance of an aged Monk, who bade him, if he valued the salvation of his soul, to rise and follow him: and his friend could not dispel the disquietude of Vasah by his assurances that such diabolical illusions should be unnoticed or contemned. On their return, it happened that Vasah was proceeding at a distance from his companions, who had preceded him: and while in fear of wild beasts, which abounded in those parts, he was startled,—so runs the tale,—by the appearance of a horseman, who loudly inquired his business in that vast desert. Vasah explained the circumstances, and his companion desired him to mount behind himself; and when he had done so, conveyed him within a building, which from its lamps and images, he knew to be a Christian church. It was now night, and the young Mahometan remained within the sacred walls till twilight, when the Sacristan appeared to prepare for the offices of the day, and having first imagined the intruder to be a thief, began to suspect, from his account, that he was a madman. Vasah inquired, in honour of what Saint the building was dedicated; and on the Sacristan's replying that it was named from S. Mercurius, at the same time giving an account of his sufferings, and shewing his picture, Vasah, who found, or imagined that he found, a likeness between that Martyr and his companion of the preceding evening, intimated his intention of becoming a Christian.

his remorse:

he repairs to the church of S. Mercurius:

The Sacristan, fearing that destruction would equally involve the church and the convent, should his change of religion be publicly known, requested him to withdraw into a more retired spot, whither he promised to send a Priest, who should instruct him in the doctrines of Christianity. Vasah complied: and in due time received the Sacrament of Baptism. By the advice of the Priest who had received him into the Church, he prepared to take up his abode in the Monastery of S. Macarius, and there to endeavour after a further advance in religion. It happened, however, that he was recognized by some former friends, not-

is converted.

withstanding his change of dress and altered appearance, who communicated their suspicions as to his son's fate to Rejah. The latter caused Vasah, or, as he called himself since his baptism, Paul, to be arrested: and he, unable longer to conceal himself, openly confessed CHRIST. Confined without food for three days, he persisted in his resolution: and after consulting on the proper course to be pursued, his relations, who at one time entertained the idea of denouncing him as an Apostate, were prevailed on by their love to the youth, and the fear of the disgrace which such an event would bring on their family, to dismiss him unhurt. He retired to Wady Habib, where he passed some time in Monastic exercises: but on hearing one of the Monks declare, that the man who, having been converted from Mahometanism, did not profess the faith in the same place where he had once professed infidelity, could not be deemed acceptable to GOD, he returned to Misra, where he met with a cruel reception from his father. Neither six days' imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, where he was confined without provisions, nor the endearments of the mother of his only child, yet an infant, and murdered, in revenge of his son's obstinacy, by Rejah, sufficed to change his determination: and he was then denounced to the Caliph as an Apostate. But, on being allowed to plead his own cause, he was permitted to depart unhurt. He retired into a distant part of Egypt, on the borders of Abyssinia, and there built a church in honour of S. Michael the Archangel.

confesses CHRIST,

At this time he formed a close friendship with the historian Severus, Bishop of Aschmonin; and composed several works in Arabic. Of these, two attained considerable celebrity. The one was entitled an Explanation of the Faith against Heretics, whose errors he refuted from their own works. It is probable that by Heretics, Mahometans, rather than Nestorians or Melchites, are here to be understood: as it is more likely that a convert would attack that belief by which he had once been misled. It is true, that at a later period, and under the Turkish Empire, Christians were not allowed to publish any work against the Established Religion: but at the time of which we write, no such prohibition appears to have existed. The other was a treatise entitled, an Admonition to Interpreters: he also left an account of his own life.

composes several works,

is ordained Priest,

After some time, Paul returned to the Wady Habib, and was there ordained Priest. The emissaries of the Patriarch, always on the search for a possibility of obtaining money, demanded the usual tribute from him, on occasion of his elevation to the Sacerdotal Office: he constantly refused to give it: and it was paid by a by-stander, in order that further scandal might be avoided. Rejah, hearing that his son had taken upon himself Monastic vows, hired a band of Arabians to search for, and to murder him: and his companions advised him to retire to a place called Sendafa, in Lower Egypt, where he became treasurer of the church of S. Theodore. Having held this office two years, and finding that his end was approaching, he was visited by Theodore, the Patriarch's secretary, who, at his request, concealed his body from the fury of some of the neighbouring Mahometans, and from whom Michael of Tanis received the above account. Paul was wont to say, that in all his distresses and afflictions, he had never felt real sorrow, but thrice: once when the mother of his child was exposed, in his presence, to the insults of his brother: once, when his infant was murdered: and lastly, when the simoniacal demand was made by Philotheus for his ordination.[1]

and dies.

SECTION XVI.

CRIMES OF PHILOTHEUS, AND SUCCESSION OF PATRIARCHS.

Crimes of Philotheus: and succession of Patriarchs.

Muazzi, after a prosperous reign, left his crown to his son Aziz, whose reign was equally fortunate: he was the more inclined to be favourable to the Christians, from the circumstance of having, among his wives, one who was not only a Christian, but apparently a Catholic, and the mother of his successor.

Luxury and *Chartonia* of Philotheus.

The crimes of Philotheus were now matter of public notoriety. To supply money for his various excesses, he continued his simoniacal[2] proceedings: entirely given to the pleasures of the

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 374.

[2] The Arabic writers in this and other cases, use the expression, "he received *Chartonia*." Chartonia is corrupted, both in form and in sense, from the Greek χειροτονία, and signifies the money received for the ordination of one who has been elected

table and the bath, he hurried over the Ecclesiastical Offices: and bestowed no longer time on the care of his flock, than was rendered absolutely necessary by the immediate pressure of business. The only good action which is recorded of him,—and it has procured him the title of a Saint in the Ethiopic Calendar,—is his supplying that distracted Communion with another Metropolitan, none having been sent thither since the time of Cosmas III., about seventy years before.

Affairs of Ethiopia. After A.D. 960.

It is impossible to penetrate the darkness which hangs over Ethiopic History: but as far as the researches of the learned have been able to gather, it appears, that towards the end of the tenth century, the ancient line of Ethiopic Emperors, known by the name of the Salomonæan, was driven from the throne by the wickedness of an intruding princess, who is known by the name of Saada or Essat.[1] Her crimes, her shamelessness and avarice, but more especially her sacrilege, are dwelt on by the historians: and the churches suffered much under her rule. She was succeeded, whether immediately or not, it is impossible to say, by another female monster, Tredda Gabez: she endeavoured to strengthen her hands by the destruction of the rightful family, and only one of the Salomonæan dynasty escaped her search. He raised the standard of revolt: but, amidst the dangers and troubles with which he was surrounded, appears to have been not unmindful of religion. Unable, from some unknown cause, to apply to the Jacobite Patriarch himself, he requested the assistance of George, King of Nubia, in a letter, part of which still exists. In it he sets forth the miseries under which his kingdom laboured, the cities that were burnt, the churches that were destroyed, the captives that were barbarously sold; attributing all these calamities to the ill treatment which the Metropolitan, sent by Cosmas, had received at the hands of the Ethiopians. "These things, my brother," he proceeded, "I have written to you, in hope that the Christian religion may not be utterly destroyed and perish from among us. There have now been[2] six Patriarchs of Alexandria, who have taken no care of

Usurpation of Saada:

and of Tredda Gabez.

George, King of Nubia.

Prelate: and generally a simoniacal conferring of orders. Renaudot, p. 373.

[1] Renaud. p. 382. Ludolf. Hist. Eth. ii. 3.

[2] Properly speaking there had only

our country, which has therefore remained desolate and without a pastor. Our Bishops and our Priests are dead, our churches are laid waste. Nor can we deny that we suffer these evils justly, on account of our crimes committed against our Metropolitan." The King of Nubia communicated this request to the Patriarch Philotheus; who ordained Daniel, a Monk of the Monastery of S. Macarius, to the dignity of Metropolitan of Axum.[1] On this Prelate's arrival in Ethiopia, he was received with the greatest joy by the Royal party: their courage revived, their arms prospered, and the usurping queen was deprived, in a short time, of her crown and her life.[2]

Daniel, Metropolitan of Axum.

The crimes of Philotheus met with signal punishment. He was employed in celebrating the Holy Eucharist, in company with several other Bishops, when, on completing the Oblation, he was suddenly unable to proceed. The Bishops imagined that his silence proceeded from forgetfulness, and suggested to him the words that followed, but to no purpose; and the Liturgy was finished by another. The Patriarch, after languishing for a short time, was thus called to his account.[3] It is curious that this Prelate, whom Makrizi calls Philajus, should be almost the only one whom he selects for praise, on the ground of his munificence.[4]

Death of Philotheus, Oct. 10. A.D. 1005.*

Aziz, after a reign of nineteen years, left his crown to his son Hakem, yet a youth, and the third of the Egyptian Fatimidæ. This prince, as we have before said, was born of a Christian mother; and his uncle Arsenius was, by her influence,[5]

Arsenius, Patr LI. A.D. ?

been four, Macarius, Theophanius, Minas II., and Ephraem. Cosmas himself therefore, and Philotheus must be reckoned into the account, in order that the number may be made up.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 650.

[2] Whether this usurper was Tredda Gabez, or Saada, or some intervening sovereign, it is impossible to say. The whole tenor of the history seems to point to Tredda Gabez, the last of the intruders, as the queen here mentioned: but Renaudot thinks it difficult to reconcile this with what is known of the chronology, p. 383.

[3] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 572,

[4] Makrizi, § 427.

* Elmacinus gives A.D. 1002 as the date: which is not reconcileable with the number of years which he attributes to the Patriarchate of Philotheus.—Renaud. pp. 380, 387.

[5] Le Quien contradicts himself as to the date of this Patriarch's election. "Arsenium, quem Hakemus Melchitarum Patriarcham renuntiavit." (Tom. ii. 480 A.) "Ejusque fratrem alterum Hieremiam nomine Hierosolymorum." "Hieremiam, quem pater hujus Hakemi, Azizus Billa, utpote fratrem

elevated to the Catholic Throne of Alexandria. His brother Jeremiah, otherwise called Orestes, was at the same time made Patriarch of Jerusalem, which, with all the rest of Syria, was now under the dominion of the Fatimidæ.[1] It must be confessed, that to find two Catholic Patriarchs the nominees of an infidel Prince, and that on the strength of their sister's dishonour, gives a sufficiently distressing picture of the state of the Church. his elevation through the influence of his sister.

On the death of Philotheus, one Abraham, a merchant of eminence, was proposed to fill the vacant See; and was principally supported by the Alexandrians, whose turn, says Michael of Tanis, it now was to elect. We have explained, in a former section, the custom to which this remark refers, and of which this is the earliest recorded example. The Bishops, disapproving of the candidate, were on the point of returning to their respective Dioceses, when Zacharias, Treasurer of the Abbey of S. Macarius, was unanimously chosen.[2] The Bishops, however, gave it as their advice, that since Abraham had obtained the command of the prince for his election, he should be consoled under his disappointment by the promise of elevation to the first vacant See; and he was accordingly, in process of time, promoted to that of Menuf, or Memphis, which was a distinct Diocese from that of Misra or Cairo. *Zacharias, Patr. lxiv.* A.D. 1005.

SECTION XVII.

TENTH PERSECUTION UNDER HAKEM.

The Church, as well as the Jacobite Communion, was now about to be exposed to the most severe persecution which it had experienced since the Mahometan invasion. Hakem, as he grew up to manhood, gave ample tokens of his ferocious disposition. He was not only implacable in his resentments, and a thirster after human blood, but blindly superstitious, addicted to astro- Character of Hakem:

uxoris suæ, constituerat Patriarcham Hierosolymitamum." (Tom. iii. 476 B.)

[1] Makrizi, § 428.

[2] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 386; Makrizi, § 429; Le Quien, ii. 480; Sollerius, p. 93*; Wansleb. p. 320. Alex. Catalog.

logy, and the inventor of a peculiar kind of worship which he paid to the star Saturn. It was his custom to propitiate it with nocturnal sacrifices; and on these occasions, as it was vulgarly believed, the Evil One would appear in a bodily form, and converse with the Sultan. His nights were spent, in company with the infamous ministers of his will, in wandering through the city in black raiment, mounted on a black ass; sometimes he would endeavour, by his spies, to discover any who spoke ill of himself; at others, he performed his infernal ceremonies on a mountain to the east of Cairo. His sycophants publicly proclaimed him to be the CHRIST; and the Druses of Mount Lebanon still adore the divinity of Hakem. The flatteries of his court, joined to his own excesses, appear to have converted him from an almost idiot into a confirmed madman. He ordered that swine should be publicly sacrificed; commanded that all the dogs throughout Egypt should be slain; forbade wine under the severest penalties, and directed every wine-cask to be broken. His contempt of Jews and of Christians was extreme; the former were compelled to carry masks in the shape of a calf's head, because their ancestors had worshipped a golden calf; and the latter to wear a black dress, and to give up their crosses, and silence their bells. Further than this, Hakem did not at first carry his persecutions: and indeed condescended, at the request of his mother, to bestow a church, then in the possession of the Jacobites, on the Melchites: it was called after S. Mary, and stood in the street of Abul-Husseim in Cairo, and was subsequently termed the Patriarchal Church.[1]

his superstition:

his folly;

his disposition to favour the Catholics.

It was the folly and wickedness of the Jacobites which, by arousing the fury of this tyrant, involved both themselves and the Catholics, not only of Egypt but of Syria, in one general persecution. The venality and ambition of their Bishops are allowed by their own historians: and these were but ill restrained by Zacharias, a man of weak mind, and although desirous of, seldom permitted to enjoy, peace. The more turbulent of his suffragans controlled his actions, and under the name of the Patriarch actually governed the Diœcese. The most scandalous disorder prevailed everywhere: there were instances of a Bishop who by extortion or falsehoods had amassed

Venality of the Jacobite Bishops.

Anecdotes of their excesses.

[1] Makrizi, § 428.

the sum of twenty thousand pounds, the disposition of which formed the great care of his death-bed: of another Prelate, who threw down an altar, which had been consecrated in his Diocese by the Bishop of another See: of a Priest, who reserving to his own use the wine intended for the Holy Eucharist, employed water, scantily tinged with it, for the service of the altar: and of others who refused, on account of the labour, to celebrate the Eucharist daily. But the immediate cause of the persecution was the ambition of John, the parish priest of a village named Abunefer, near the Monastery of S. Macarius. Finding that others were continually purchasing their elevation to the Episcopate, and conscious that he himself, though equally desirous of the dignity with them, had nothing to offer, he went to the Patriarch, and requested to be consecrated Bishop of one of those Dioceses which were now, from the paucity of the Faithful, without a Prelate. Zacharias, who was only so far guilty of simony, that he allowed it to be practised in his name by the Prelates who were always about him, might probably have complied with John's request; but the simoniacal Bishops, who formed his perpetual council, unhesitatingly repelled the application. The revengeful priest drew up a memorial to Hakem, and went to Cairo, with the intention of laying it before that tyrant; when, fortunately, some of the Christians about the Court, fearing lest the petition, if presented, might give a handle to fresh extortion or persecution, prevailed on John to delay his design, and dispatched him with letters to Zacharias, recommending his elevation, for the sake of peace, to the honour which he coveted. The Patriarch, who was then in Wady Habib, entrusted John to the care of Chail, Bishop of Xois, or Saca, who was his own nephew, and possessed great influence over him. The perfidious Prelate, enraged that a petitioner, whom he himself had rejected, was likely, after all, to be successful in his application, directed a party of Arabs who were at his disposal, to throw his guest into a dry well, and to stone him from above: John, however, was unhurt by the fall, and finding a cavern at the bottom of the pit, crept in thither, and avoided the shower of stones which his murderers cast from above. On hearing of this treatment Zacharias was deeply grieved, and consoled the sufferer with the promise of the next

John of Abunefer claims the Episcopate:

is imprisoned by Chail of Saca,

escapes,

vacant Bishopric. It happened that two, shortly afterwards, fell into his hands: but, prevailed on by the importunity of his council, he forgot his promise, and filled them with other candidates.[1] John determined no longer to delay his revenge: and drawing up a memorial, in which he termed the Caliph God's Vicar upon earth, and laid numerous crimes to the charge of the Patriarch, he presented it to Hakem. The latter summoned Zacharias before him, loaded him with chains, and threw him into prison, from which place he was, at the expiration of three months, released only for the purpose of being exposed to lions. It is said, however, that they refused to touch him: and that a second trial, in which their ferocity was still further excited by hunger, proved equally unavailing. This miracle is celebrated among the Jacobites, and is mentioned by the Mahometan Makrizi;[2] and it seems unreasonable to doubt it, when attested by those who could have been convicted by a whole nation of falsehood, had they been guilty of it: and whose veracity would be subjected to a strict examination, not only on the part of the Mahometans, but also on that of the Catholics. Nor does it seem in any way contrary to that which analogy would lead us to expect, that the truth of that creed, which heretics held in common with Catholics, and in opposition to Mahometans, should be demonstrated to a Mahometan tyrant by a miracle wrought in favour of an heretical Patriarch.

memorialises Hakem. A.D. 1011.

Zacharias exposed to lions:

There were others among the Jacobites who, about this time, were honoured by becoming, if we may use the word in an inferior sense, martyrs for the Name of Christ. Abunegiah, an officer in the Caliph's Court, was summoned by Hakem, who offered him the dignity of Vizir, and the administration of his whole empire, if he would renounce Christianity and embrace the creed of the false Prophet. The other requested the delay of a day, promising on the morrow to give a definitive answer; and in the interval, going to his house, he called together his friends, and assured them, that it was not from any terror of the fate that awaited him, nor from any doubt as to the substance

Martyrdom of Abunegiah;

[1] The candour with which Michael of Tanis records these atrocities, which he must probably have been able to recollect, is very creditable to his veracity. Renaud. p. 388.

[2] Makrizi, § 430.

of his answer, that he had procrastinated the one and the other: but that he might have the opportunity of exhorting them to constancy, of bidding them farewell, of setting before them the contempt in which they should hold this transitory world, and of expressing his joy at the prospect of suffering for CHRIST's sake. That evening he entertained them at a banquet; and on the next day, presenting himself before Hakem, boldly and publicly professed his resolution, and was not to be moved by the threats of death, or the allurements of worldly dignity. The Caliph commanded that he should be scourged to death: the martyr expired after eight hundred strokes; and the remainder, necessary to complete a thousand, were, by the tyrant's order, inflicted on his lifeless body. The sufferer is also known by the name of Gabriel.[1]

of Kahad:

Another illustrious instance of firmness was exhibited by Kahad, the Caliph's principal secretary. Refusing to deny the faith, he was beheaded, and his body thrown into a fire kindled to consume it. He had, in his lifetime, been noted for his abundant alms: and the right hand, with which he dispensed them, is said to have remained unhurt by the flames. Eight of the inferior secretaries were then seized, and by various torments tempted to deny their LORD: four remained firm to the end: an equal number apostatized: of the latter, one died suddenly on the following night; the three others were at the close of the persecution received as penitents.[2]

of S. Jeremiah.

But the most illustrious sufferer in this persecution, and one that without doubt attained to the True Crown of Martyrdom, was Jeremiah, brother to the Catholic Patriarch Arsenius, and himself, as we have seen, Patriarch of Jerusalem. For the fury of Hakem had now extended its effects to that city: and the church of the Holy Sepulchre was, at the suggestion, it is said, of some European Jews, levelled with the ground. Jeremiah was arrested at Jerusalem by his nephew Hakem, then on the spot for the purpose of carrying out his plans, and by him carried to Cairo. Here he was scourged, tortured with burning

[1] There is no commemoration of this martyr in the Ethiopic Calendar, unless the Gabriel celebrated on the 23rd of December, and distinguished from the Archangel, be intended for him.

[2] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p, 390.

lamps, tormented on a rack, and at length beheaded: and having constantly endured to the end, is reckoned among the Saints. And he is commemorated on the fifteenth, or, according to others, on the seventeenth of May.[1] In what manner Arsenius himself escaped the fury of his nephew, it is not easy to imagine: unless we may suppose that he was about this time taken away from the evil. And this conjecture is the more probable, because the See of Alexandria had been filled by another Patriarch before the year 1019. It is a sad reflection for a historian of Alexandria, that with S. Jeremiah he bids farewell to the canonized Saints of the Eastern Church.

Fury of the persecution.

The persecution in Egypt became daily more severe. Orders were issued for the destruction of all the churches: Christians were forbidden to change their residence from one place to another. Zacharias still remained in prison: he was threatened, on the one hand, with being burnt alive, and promised, on the other, dignity and promotion. But the one and the other proving ineffectual, he was at length restored to liberty, and, retiring into the desert of S. Macarius, remained there for some years. At the Feasts of the Epiphany and of Easter, the Jacobites were in the habit of resorting in large numbers to this celebrated Monastery, for the purpose of receiving the Holy Communion, in company with their Patriarch.

George, or Philotheus, Patr. LII. circ. A.D. 1015. A.M. 731.

To Arsenius succeeded[2] Philotheus, in whose time the remarkable title of ŒCUMENICAL JUDGE was first given to the Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria.[3] A dispute having arisen between the Emperor Basil and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius II., apparently on the subject of a tax which the former had levied, and to which the latter objected, Philotheus, then at Constantinople, was called in as arbiter of the disagreement. Finding that both the Prelate and the Emperor were in the wrong, and unwilling to provoke their indignation by openly saying so, he had recourse to an ingenious and symbolical

[1] Alberic, Chron. Par. II. 46; Theod. Pauli, ap. Papebroch. Tract. Præl. in Tom. iii. Mai. p. 43; ap. Le Quien, iii. 479, 80.

[2] In the catalogue which Le Quien obtained at Cairo, this Patriarch is called George. But the higher authority of Dositheus names him Philotheus. It is, indeed, possible that they may have been two distinct and successive Prelates.

[3] Dosith. de Patr. Hier. 7. 19. 9.

method of stating his opinion. Having made two figures of wax, representing, we may suppose, the contending parties, and carrying them before Basil and Sergius, he cut off the right hand of that which represented the Emperor, and the tongue of that by which the Patriarch was imaged: thus reproving the severe actions of the former, and the unbridled words of the latter. Sergius placed on him his Omophorion, the Emperor his Crown; and since that period the Patriarch of Alexandria wears two Omophoria, and a double crown on his mitre. This title was afterwards absurdly assumed by the Jacobite Patriarchs, who interpret it of the ancient right of the See of Alexandria to settle any dispute which might arise as to the time of Easter.[1]

Adoption of the title of Œcumenical Judge.

The last three years of Hakem's persecution were the most severe; and, except in the remoter monasteries, the celebration of the Liturgy ceased throughout Egypt. In some provinces, indeed, the governors were bribed to allow of its celebration in a private manner, and in private houses. At the end of this period, the Christians, beginning to recover their spirits, consecrated oratories in some houses: and their indefatigable perseverance in the performance of their rites being reported to Hakem, far from exciting his indignation, served rather to weary him of the persecution, which had been so laboriously yet so fruitlessly carried on. This change of sentiment in the Caliph being known, many of those who had apostatized came before him, earnestly requesting that they might be allowed to return to their ancient religion, without exposing themselves to the severe penalties which Mahometanism prescribed for lapsed converts. Hakem consented, and gave them letters of amnesty; and thus a great multitude returned to the faith. Among these was a Monk named Yemin, who, having some influence with Hakem, and having retired to the Monastery of S. Mercurius, near Cairo, was sometimes visited by the Caliph, who would partake of the frugal meal of the recluses. On one of these occasions, Yemin obtained leave to recall Zacharias, whom, at a subsequent visit, he introduced to Hakem. The latter was

Celebration of the Liturgy ceases in Egypt. circ. A.D. 1020.

Hakem stops the persecution,

[1] Nicephorus Callistus, writing in the fourteenth century, affirms that this title was first conferred on S. Cyril by Pope S. Celestine, in reference to his judgment of Nestorius in the Third Œcumenical Council, lib. iv. c. 34. Le Quien, ii. 381. But there is not the slightest foundation for this legend.

astonished at the deference paid by the other Bishops to an aged man, of insignificant appearance, unseemly dress, and without any external mark of dignity, especially when among the surrounding Prelates were some who, both in age and personal appearance, were superior to the Patriarch. He inquired how far the authority of Zacharias reached, and was informed that it extended over Egypt, Ethiopia, Pentapolis, and Nubia; and that without military forces or a well-stocked treasury, the simple letter of the Patriarch, signed with the Cross, was sufficient to insure attention to his orders. "Then," returned Hakem, "it appears to me that Christianity has a firmer hold on the mind of man than any other religion: we, after the effusion of blood, and the exhaustion of treasure, and the marshalling of armies, cannot effect what one contemptible old man can, by his bare word, achieve." He then requested the Bishops who were present to remain with the Patriarch in the Monastery of S. Mercurius, until he should return; when he would himself decide on the course to be pursued with respect to them. During his absence, John, the author of all the persecutions, arrived, as if for the sake of congratulating the Patriarch: and with incredible effrontery he again requested to be raised to the Episcopate. Zacharias, unwilling to risk the perpetuity of the newly established peace, promised to comply with his request. This raised a tumult on the part of Chail of Xois, who carried his threats so far, that John, conceiving his life to be in danger, implored assistance from those on the outside of the monastery. The other Bishops interfered: and John was pacified by being raised to the rank of Hegumen.[1]

and favours the Christians.

On the return of Hakem, he brought with him an Imperial edict, in which he not only allowed the restoration of the ruined churches, but commanded the restitution of the timber, columns, and stones which had been taken from them, as well as of the landed property which they had possessed. By the same edict, he abrogated that which had imposed a peculiar dress on the Christians, and the other marks by which they had been compelled to distinguish themselves from the Mahometans. But

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 394.

the moral effect of the persecution of Hakem has probably never been removed to this day: the destruction of churches was enormous: the number thrown down in Egypt, Syria, and the other dominions of the tyrant is affirmed by the Mahometan historian Makrizi to have amounted to more than thirty thousand[1]: a loss which the exhausted state of the Egyptian Christians could ill replace.

Death of Hakem.

The publication of this edict was followed almost immediately by the death of Hakem. While carrying on his nocturnal rites on his favourite mountain, he was attacked by a band of assassins, hired, it is said, by his sister, Setel-melouka: who, in order to screen herself from the suspicion of fratricide, caused the murderers to be executed.[2] The ass on which Hakem rode, his garments, pierced in seven places, and the corpses of his two companions, were discovered: his own body could not be found. An opinion prevailed that he had not perished, but was only lying hid for a time: and this idea was, as we shall see, the cause of fresh troubles to the successor of Zacharias.

Such was the end of Hakem: a prince whose cruelty vied with his superstition, and whose feebleness surpassed both. A despiser of Mahometanism, he was a persecutor of Christianity: he had not that zeal for his own Creed, which most of the opponents of the True Faith have been able to plead in palliation of their crimes: and the tortures he inflicted were suggested by self-will alone, and carried out to gratify an innate thirst for blood. He was succeeded by his son Taher, under whom, the government being in reality carried on by Setel-melouka, a woman of masculine mind, the Christians enjoyed the immunities guaranteed them by the last edict of Hakem. At length Zacharias, after surviving the persecution twelve years, died in a good old age; and was buried at Cairo, in the church called Kanesat el Derage, whence his remains were afterwards translated to the monastery called Dir el Habesch.[3] He is commemorated by the Ethiopians on the ninth day of November.

Setel-melouka Regent.

Death of Zacharias: Jan. 3, 1032.

[1] Makrizi, § 448. This writer devotes twenty-five sections to a relation of this persecution.

[2] Abu'lfaraj, p. 220. Elmacin. p. 458. Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 397.

[3] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 401.

SECTION XVIII.

THE CRIMES AND MISFORTUNES OF CHENOUDA II.

The consequence of the peace which was, at the death of Zacharias, the portion of the Christians, was an unusual number of competitors for the Jacobite See. Setel-melouka was now dead, and Taher, still a youth, and though of mild disposition, feeling his incapacity for alone directing the affairs of government, constituted Mogib-el-doulet, a friend to the Christians, his Vizir. This minister, on hearing from Bekir, a Jacobite nobleman, of the sharp contests by which the peace of that Communion was endangered, replied that he was content to remit the tribute of six thousand pounds, which had been accustomably paid by the new Patriarch to the privy purse: and recommended the disputants to have recourse to a method which he had known practised at Bagdad, (by the Nestorians, in the election of their *Catholics*,) that namely which we have already described under the title of Heikeliet. Whether, however, from unwillingness to follow the advice of a Mahometan, or from repugnance to imitate, (although it was a ceremony, as we have seen, not unknown in Egypt,) the custom of a Nestorian, the Bishops, unhappily for themselves, refused to assent to the proposed plan: and again assembling, chose, after long debates, Chenouda or Sanutius,[1] the second of that name, a native of Tenana, and a Monk of the monastery of S. Macarius.

Chenouda II., Patr. lxv. A.D. 1032.

Before his election was confirmed, the Prelates demanded from him a promise of raising to the Episcopate that John, who had, under his predecessor, been the cause of so much suffering to the Christians: and that he should be put in possession of the vacant See of Farma, or Rhinocorura, a then insignificant town in the desert which lies between Syria and Egypt. Chenouda consented: and John proceeded to increase his demands, by requesting, in consideration of the poverty of his See, an an-

he gives a bond to desist from Chartonia:

[1] Mich. Tan. ap. Renaudot, p. 410. Sollerius, p. 94*. Wansleb. p. 324. Makrizi, § 457. Elmacin. p. 265.

nual pension of sixty pounds from the Patriarch, and that his brother should also be raised to the Episcopal dignity. With both these conditions Chenouda was compelled to comply, and then found that, before the Alexandrians would receive him, two bonds were presented for his signature. By the one, he promised to pay one thousand pounds annually, for the restoration of the great church at Alexandria: by the other, that he would neither ask nor receive any money for conferring the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and the Power of the Keys. These bonds were, in fact, hard to be reconciled: for Chenouda had no property of his own: and the great schism, and the exactions of the Mahometan tyrants, had miserably reduced the once princely income of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. It was not long before Chenouda proved that he regarded little the last-mentioned promise: for the See of Panephysus, which shortly afterwards became vacant, was sold by him to one Raphael for twelve hundred pounds: and this money was raised by the usurper from Mahometan usurers. To such fearful corruptions of practice will speculative errors lead! and such are the men, at whose election, Jacobite writers scruple not to record, or to devise miracles!

his perjury.

Shortly after his consecration, Chenouda began to exhibit, in still plainer colours, his true character. He lost no opportunity of simoniacally enriching himself, to the great scandal of his flock, who were not more irritated by the crime itself, than by the flagrant violation of a solemn promise which, in this case, it involved. His arrogance and haughtiness of demeanour were repulsive in a high degree: and when Bekir, who had been a warm opposer of his election, waited on him for the purpose of paying his compliments, and obtaining his Prelate's benediction, he impiously uttered, as his only answer, the words, "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble!"[1] The other modestly warned him against perverting the Scriptures from their genuine meaning: the Patriarch replied in wrath: and the two parted in great anger. Still further to outrage the feelings of his people, Chenouda shortly afterwards bestowed the Bishopric of Osiut, or Lycopolis, on the Protopope of that Church, on payment of a large sum of money: but the citizens, as if eager to efface the remembrance of the sin of their town in the ancient

blasphemy.

[1] Psalm xcix. 1.

and simony.

Meletian schism, pertinaciously, for three years, refused to admit the simoniacal Prelate. He, in the true spirit of a mercantile transaction, returned to Chenouda, and requested him, either to refund the money, or to compel the Lycopolitans to acknowledge him as their Bishop. The Patriarch declined to do either: and rage and disappointment had nearly deprived his nominee of his senses. Michael of Tanis, the Ecclesiastical historian, was present: and on his recommendation the neighbouring Bishops were ordered to consecrate the simoniacal candidate in some one of the villages included in his Diocese.

Affair of Elias of Chenana.

Nor were the crimes of Chenouda confined to simony: it was his practice to lay hands on the property of his Suffragans at their deaths. Elias, Bishop of Chenana,[1] having departed this life, his brother was required by the Patriarch to give up all the goods of the deceased Ecclesiastic: and yielding to violence, he expressed his willingness to comply with the mandate, only requesting that the empty residence of the deceased might be left in his hands. This petition was refused by the insatiable avarice of Chenouda: and the petitioner, in revenge, embraced Mahometanism, and was protected by the law in the possession of both the residence, and the personal property of his brother. Having broken one of his bonds, it was only natural that this wicked Patriarch should be equally neglectful of the other. In the second year of his Episcopate he refused the sum which he had covenanted to pay to the great church of Alexandria: the clergy brought an action against him, and obtained, with costs, the sum in which he stood indebted to them.

Leontius, Patr. LIII. A.D. Alexander II. Patr. LIV. Before A.D. 1059. A.M. 775.

At this time the Catholic Church of Antioch was much strengthened by the disputes of the Jacobite heretics: and we can hardly doubt that the case was so in Alexandria. To Philotheus succeeded Leontius: and to the latter Alexander, who occupied the chair of S. Mark, about the year 1059: but nothing further is known of either Prelate.[2]

[1] This name is probably corrupted: at least we have no other accounts of this city.

[2] Le Quien, (ii. 481, 2,) makes these Patriarchs one and the same person. Leontius is named, in the list which he obtained at Cairo, as the successor of Philotheus. But, says he, "in schedis quas doctissimi Sammarthani fratres ad Orientalem Ecclesiam describendam paraverant, quæque Parisiis apud hos Presbyteros Oratorii Sammagloriani asservantur, Alexander Alexandrinus Patriarch sedisse fertur anno

Chenouda, meanwhile, was proceeding from bad to worse. Bekir, who appears to have interested himself deeply in the affairs of the Jacobite Communion, represented to him the heinous sin of simony, and earnestly requested him to abstain from it in future. The Patriarch replied, that, without raising money in this way, it would be impossible for him to meet the demands of the Alexandrians. Bekir offered to engage, on his own part, and on that of his friends, that the necessary sums should be furnished to Chenouda, if the latter would only promise to desist from the infamous traffic which he had hitherto pursued. The Patriarch, having no possible excuse to allege, consented, although most unwillingly, and signed a bond to that effect. The Bishops were called together, and on being informed of the covenanted stipulation, were loudly indignant. "Shall a private individual," they exclaimed, "thus interfere with the dignity of the successor of S. Mark? shall a practice, sanctioned by his predecessors, be branded as unholy and blasphemous in Chenouda? Shall so fruitful a source of income be swept, at one stroke, from the first Orthodox Bishop in the world?" Bekir hearing of the hostility which his proposition had excited, hastened to the assembly, and endeavoured to convince its various members of the fearful account they would have to render hereafter, if by their means, simony, but just before rooted up, should be again planted in the Church, and be allowed to bring forth its bitter fruit. "True," returned Chenouda: "and I, for my part, am firm against the solicitations of my Suffragans: but for their satisfaction and my own, I would wish to exhibit to them the deed, by which I have bound myself no longer to exercise Chartonia in the conferring of Ecclesiastical Orders." Bekir brought forward the document, and the Patriarch, taking it into his hands, tore it in pieces. But not even by this act did he satisfy the Bishops, who complained that, after calling them all together, he had, after all, rather seemed to follow the impulses of his own mind, than to be guided by their

Interference of Bekir.

Simony justified by a Synod.

1059.—Utinam auctorem indicassent ex quo hoc acceperunt." But the lapse of years seems to require two Patriarchs between Philotheus and John: and it is at least as probable that the Catalogue should have omitted, (as allowedly it sometimes does,) one Prelate, as that the *dated* name of Alexander should be a mistake. For giving, as Le Quien does, one person these two names, there seems some convenience, but no authority.

advice. They assembled in the church of S. Mercurius, while the Patriarch, with a few of his partisans, remained in that of S. Michael. The cry of the laity was loud against Simony: and at length, intimidated or persuaded, the Bishops appear to have acknowledged its justice. Chenouda was obstinate: he presented himself among his Suffragans, and a day was consumed in vain discussion. Bekir distinguished himself by his pertinacity, and the Patriarch, unable to reply to his arguments, ordered him to be seized, and publicly beaten: and the Synod, if it may be dignified by that name, broke up without having determined anything. The Bishop of Farma, on applying to Chenouda for his pension, received by way of reply a terrible sentence of anathema, which was published in all the Dioceses of Egypt.

Chenouda anathematizes the Bishop of Farma.

The reign of Taher was signalized by no remarkable events. This Prince was of a merciful and liberal disposition, but his infirm state of health prevented his distinguishing himself by military achievements. Indeed, the empire of his father and grandfather was diminished, rather than increased during his reign; Aleppo was separated from it, and passed into the power of the family of the Mardasidæ, who made it the head of an empire which subsisted for about fifty years. He was succeeded by his son, Moustansir Billa, a child only in the eighth year of his age,[1] who reigned for more than sixty years. Egypt was afflicted with a severe famine: and tempests, earthquakes and inundations seemed to betoken the Divine wrath that rested on this unhappy people. The character of Chenouda remained unchanged to the last: his mortal illness continued three years, and he suffered greatly. His eyes were closed by Michael, afterwards Bishop of Tanis, the historian, who was ordained Deacon by Zacharias, Priest by Chenouda, and Bishop by his successor Christodulus. His history was written about four years after this period: it was continued, after the year 1088, by Mauhoub, an Alexandrian Deacon, who thenceforth becomes our guide. His character for learning and piety appears to have stood high among those of his own party: and he was at a subsequent period employed as Legate to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch; and seems to have been well pleased with his reception.[2]

Reign of Taher, A. D. 1035,

and Moustansir Billa.

Death of Chenouda, Oct. 29, 1049.

[1] Renaudot, pp. 415, 416.

[2] Mauhoub-ben-Mansour, ap. Assemman, B.O. ii, 149, note 3. From the same writer we learn that Michael

SECTION XIX.

CANONS AND ACTIONS OF ABD-EL-MESSIAH.

On the death of Chenouda, Abd-el-Messiah, a Monk of S. Primus in Wady Habib, and brother to the Abbat of that House, was unanimously chosen Patriarch[1]; but, knowing the uncertainty which had attended some former elections, refused to leave his cell, until invested with the Patriarchal robes. On his accession, the affairs of the Jacobites seem to have taken a prosperous turn: for we find that at Alexandria he consecrated six churches at one time.[2] The consecration of one among these, the church of S. Raphael, must have been an event of importance. He not only, on the same day, ordained one Priest and sixty Deacons, but published a series of thirty-one Canons, which are part of the code of the Jacobite Communion in Egypt. They are the first in the Patriarchal Canons, except those of the Great Athanasius. Of these we shall specify the most remarkable. Marriage is strictly forbidden in Lent: Baptism and Burial on Good Friday: Orders are not to be conferred in the Octave of Pentecost: no foreign Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, is allowed to exercise any function in Alexandria; the fast of the Apostles and of the Nativity are enjoined: Wednesdays and Fridays are also to be observed as days of Fasting: it was forbidden to baptize a child, (except in case of danger,) without afterwards administering the Holy Communion: marriage with a Melchite wife was to be held invalid, unless both parties were crowned by a Jacobite Ecclesiastic: any Deacon, or Layman, who from a dispute with his Priest, is unwilling to receive the Communion from him, is forbidden to receive it at the hand of any other: any one who appeals from the jurisdiction of this Church to that

Abd-el-Messiah, (Christodulus,) Patr. lxvi. A.D. 1047.

composed the lives of ten Patriarchs; namely, from Chail III. to Chenouda II.

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaud. p. 418. Le Quien, ii. 482. Wansleb. p. 324. Makrizi, § 428. Elmacin. p. 269. Sollerius, p. 94*.

[2] They were those of S. John Evangelist, S. Mercurius, S. Raphael, S. Mennas, S. George, and S. Mark: the last a restoration.

of a Mahometan Judge, or to the Caliph, if an Ecclesiastic, shall be suspended: if a Layman, excommunicated; the Corbans, or oblations, shall be prepared at home by the Faithful, after the accustomed manner.[1]

A controversy somewhat similar to that which, at this very time, was, among other differences, opening the way to the great and final schism between the East and West, was also at work among the Jacobites. The dispute referred to the proper preparation of the Eucharistic oblations, in which the Syrians, both Jacobites and Nestorians, were in the habit of mingling a little salt and oil.[2] Abd-el-Messiah happened to be in the church of S. Mercurius at Misra, when Chaïa Abulbecker, a Syrian by birth, and principal physician to Moustansir, brought an oblation, prepared after the manner of his country. The Patriarch not only refused to receive it, but severely rebuked the offerer.

Question of mingling oil and salt in oblations.

[1] Of these oblations we have spoken in the Introduction. The accustomed manner will be understood from the above engraving, taken from Sollerius's Dissertatio de Coptis Jacobitis, p. 143. The twelve Crosses represent the twelve Apostles; and the legend, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβέωτ, surrounds the whole.

[2] Renaudot, p. 425. Cotel. Mon. Eccl. Gr. i. 322.

Chaïa insisted on presenting it: and was by the order of the Patriarch violently thrust out from the church, and was wounded in the struggle. The sufferer complained to the Vizir: and also wrote to John X., surnamed Barsusan, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, detailing the insult which had been offered to the Syrian discipline. It is observable, and we shall have occasion to notice the fact again, that the Antiochene Jacobites always stood in awe of their Egyptian brethren, and dared not openly to oppose them. John wrote a treatise in defence of his practice, which still exists: and in which he carefully refrains from all reflections on Abd-el-Messiah, and on the Alexandrian Jacobites.[1] After A.D. 1064.

In this wretched state of things, it pleased God to give an illustrious example, even among the Jacobites, of constancy and courage, in the case of a young man named Nekam. His father was a man possessing some office at Court; and the son, thus probably brought into contact with the most learned, as well as the most polished among the Mahometans, was, in an evil hour, tempted to apostatize. The father, on this, drove him from his house: and Nekam, touched with penitence, began bitterly to lament the step which he had taken. He accordingly retired to the church of S. Michael, at Moctara, and after some short stay in that place, was urged by the Monks to retreat with them to the Monastery of S. Macarius. They were on the point of setting out, when Nekam refused to accompany them. "What real proof of penitence," he cried, "do I give by hiding myself in the desert? I ought rather to confess Christ in the very spot where I formerly denied Him, that so, those who were scandalized and grieved at my fall, may be strengthened, and may rejoice at my restoration." Having provided himself with the girdle, which, notwithstanding the edict of Hakem, which we formerly noticed, seems still to have distinguished the Christians, he betook himself to Misra, and there boldly presented himself in the various streets and public places. Some Mahometans, who were aware that he had formerly embraced their religion, laid an information against him as an Apostate: by the magistrate's order he was arrested, and thrown into prison. His Apostasy, and Martyrdom

[1] Asseman, B.O. ii. 356: also 144. The custom was probably ancient, since Jacobites and Nestorians never would have derived it from each other: and Asseman, B.O. ii. 183, finds a reference to it in a poem of S. Isaac the Great.

father, dreading the consequences, applied to Adattedoulah, the Governor of the city, and commander of the Turkish regiment, and who had also, it would appear, raised him to the office which he then held, requesting his interference: and he backed his application by the promise of a large sum of money. The Governor protested that his authority was, in this case, of no avail: that the very principles of Mahometanism demanded the execution of Apostates; that the guilt of Nekam could not be denied; and that the law must take its course. One method indeed he suggested, by which it might possibly be escaped: if the prisoner could be induced to feign himself mad, and to support the character which he assumed, he would send some persons on whom he could depend, to be witnesses of his pretended insanity, and on their report the judge would doubtless order the offender to be set at liberty, who might thus with impunity continue in the profession of Christianity. The father, overjoyed, hastened to the prison, and laid the proposal before Nekam, who agreed to adopt it. There was, however, in the same place of confinement a Syrian Monk, who in the interval which elapsed before the promised witnesses could arrive, exhorted Nekam so strongly to Martyrdom, that when they were actually present, he received them in his natural character, and calmly and resolutely professed himself a Christian. He was consequently carried before the magistrate, and persisting in his determination, was beheaded. By the permission of Moustansir, the corpse was given up to his friends, by whom it was buried near the church of Moctara. But Abd-el-Messiah, on arriving at the place from the desert of S. Macarius, was displeased that the body of a Martyr should have been interred without the church, and by him it was removed within the building, and an Altar erected in honour of Nekam.

of Nekam.

Canons concerning apostasy.

We have already had occasion to observe the theoretical severity of the Eastern Canons with respect to those who had apostatized to Mahometanism. The penitent was commanded by these to profess CHRIST in the place where he had rejected Him: that is, the guilt of Apostasy could only be washed away by the blood of the Apostate. This custom prevailed among both the Nestorians and Jacobites, rather than among Catholics: and in process of time, even with those two sects, it came to be

considered rather in the light of a Counsel, than of a Precept, as was evidently the case with Nekam. Indeed, the general penitence imposed on those who had fallen away, was in the case of the Alexandrian Jacobites, extremely light: we do not find that any penance was exacted from the multitude who had denied CHRIST in the persecution of Hakem, and who returned to Christianity when that persecution had ceased.

July 16, 1054. The Great Schism between the East and West.

The Throne of S. Mark was probably filled by Alexander, when the great and final schism took place between the Eastern and Western Churches, by the act of excommunication which the Legates of Leo IX. (though not till after his death,) left on the Altar of S. Sophia.

With this blow, from which the Catholic Church has never recovered, Alexandria had nothing to do. Rome and Constantinople,—the Legates of the former, and Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of the latter, must share the blame. Antioch in vain endeavoured to mediate between the two: all we know of the Egyptian Church is, that according to the account of Michael Cerularius, the name of the Pope had hitherto been retained in the Sacred Diptychs.[1] The history of this grievous separation will fall under that of the Church of Constantinople.

At this time almost all the various secretaryships in the government offices were filled by Christians: and their influence, but more especially that of the Jacobites, stood high in Egypt. This prosperity was attended with its usual results; and the insolence and arrogance of the heretics soon opened the way for various calamities. The King of Nubia having refused to pay the annual tribute which was accustomably given to the Caliph of Egypt, Abd-el-Messiah was accused to the Vizir of being the cause of this insubordination, and it was with some difficulty that the Patriarch obtained his acquittal. His principal place of residence at this time was Demroua,[2] probably the same with the ancient Hermopolis Parva: and the conflux of Bishops and other Ecclesiastics thither, as well as the prepossession which the laity would naturally entertain for the residence of their Patriarch, had made this almost a Christian city. A Mahometan Cadi, who happened to visit the place, was indignant at

[1] Cotelerius, ii. 135. Fleury, xiii. 25.

[2] Le Quien, ii. 513, 19.

what he beheld; and complained loudly to the Vizir of the more than toleration which the Christians of Demroua enjoyed. There were, he said, seventeen churches in the place; and it seemed little short of another Constantinople.[1] The consequence was an edict, by which those which had been newly erected, were ordered to be destroyed; a sum of money imposed by way of fine on each of the others; the inscription over the Patriarch's door, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD, erased; the churches throughout the whole of Lower Egypt closed; and the Patriarch and other Bishops thrown into prison, until the fine was paid. The fall of Demroua is a sad proof of the decline of Christianity in Egypt. At this time it possessed an Episcopal See, a Patriarchal Palace, and seventeen churches: in the year 1288, it seems to have been united to the Bishopric of Rosetta; and now it has no Bishop, either Jacobite or Melchite: and probably no church. But to return. The Governor of Alexandria, a man favourably disposed to the Christians, on receiving the mandate for closing their churches, gave them timely warning, recommending them at the same time to remove whatever treasures they might contain into some more secure place. This was done by night: and on the following day, the Governor dispatched his officers to search the churches, to lay hands on every thing of value which they might contain, and to confiscate it to the use of Moustansir. The officers, as might be expected, found nothing but a few rags: and the Vizir was accordingly informed, that so far from possessing those immense riches which were attributed to them, the Christians were evidently suffering from the most extreme poverty. By this stratagem, a fine of £140,000 which they had been ordered to pay, was reduced to one of £4,000. It shews that at Alexandria, the numbers of the Jacobites and Melchites were nearly equal, when we find that the latter were compelled to bear half of this fine. Part of the money imposed on the Jacobites, to the amount of two hundred golden pieces, paid in by Mauhoub the historian and his relations, was restored by them, for distribution amongst the poor. The keys of the church of S. George, which was then held to be the oldest in

A.D. 1057. Laws against the Christians.

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, p. 431.

Alexandria, and the house of S. Anianus, previously to his conversion by S. Mark, were also given up to the Jacobites. Abd-el-Messiah still persisted in his simony, and invented a disgraceful subterfuge, in order to authorize it. He pretended that all the churches in Egypt originally belonged to S. Mark: the reserving therefore to S. Mark, under the person of the Patriarch, a part of that of which the whole was his own, could not be termed unjust, or an infraction of Ecclesiastical order.[1] The same Governor or Emir of Alexandria permitted the Procession on Palm Sunday, (which had been disused for fifteen years, on account of the insults to which it exposed those who assisted in it,) to be renewed; and ordered that a military guard should, for the sake of protection, accompany it.

Shortly afterwards, by the just judgment of God, a great calamity befel Abd-el-Messiah. The Sultan, informed of his wealth, gave directions that his cell should be searched by a band of soldiers; the sum of £12,000, discovered in it, was confiscated to the Privy Purse, and the Patriarch himself thrown into prison. This was the fate of riches acquired by simony. About this time, John succeeded Alexander as Catholic Patriarch.[2]

Abd-el-Messiah in prison.

Egypt was, at the expiration of a few years more, overwhelmed with a series of calamities. The first of these was an earthquake, which, though it spared Alexandria, laid waste many other cities: at Ramla, five and twenty thousand souls were destroyed in it. A pestilence next broke out, which raged with unexampled fury; at Tanis, a city which had previously contained many thousand inhabitants, a hundred only escaped. Whole families were extirpated; houses stood open, and their effects were in the power of passers-by; and it appears not improbable that Michael, who had by Abd-el-Messiah been raised to the Bishopric of that city, perished with his flock. Lower Egypt endured another scourge, from a rebellion of the Curds and the Turks.[3] There were five thousand of these troops, who were employed by the Sultan at Misra and New Cairo as a kind of body-guard: they overran the greater part of Lower Egypt, laying it waste with fire and

John III., Patr. LV. After A.D. 1069. A.M. 775.

A.D. 1069.

Intestine commotions.

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, p. 432.

[2] This name is only known from the Catalogue procured by Le Quien from Cairo.

[3] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, p. 434. Elmacinus, p. 279.

sword, levying fines, and inflicting every kind of misery. Abd-el-Messiah fell into their hands: he underwent the torture, and was compelled to sign a bond for £6,000, of which the third part was furnished by the Secretary of the rebel chief, who would therefore appear to have been a Christian, and by his friends. Returning to Alexandria, the Patriarch convened the Clergy, requesting them to supply him, as a loan, with the £4,000 which were yet wanting to cancel his bond. They excused themselves, on the plea of public and domestic calamity; but when Abd-el-Messiah, justly enraged, threatened to seek that money from Infidels, which Christians denied him, his Clergy, partly through shame, and partly through fear of the consequences of such an appeal, furnished him with the amount of which he stood in need. The infamous ordinations of Abd-el-Messiah enabled him to free himself from this debt.

Horrible famine.

War and pestilence were followed by a famine, which occasioned almost unexampled sufferings. The horrors of this famine may be learnt from one circumstance, which has been left on record by our historian. The Vizir, going to pay his compliments to Moustansir, was accompanied by one servant only; his other attendants being unable to follow him through weakness and want of food. His horse, while standing at the door of the palace, was seized by three men, who satisfied their hunger on its flesh. The Vizir, on learning his loss, without any compassion for the sufferings which had occasioned it, arrested and crucified the culprits; on the next day, it was discovered that all the flesh had been removed from their bones. Moustansir himself was all but reduced to want; out of more than ten thousand beasts of burden which he had possessed, three horses only survived: he was compelled to sell his precious garments, plate, jewels, glass and crystal vessels, twenty thousand ornamented shields, all the furniture of his harem, and all the treasures which the Fatimide Caliphs had amassed. These were distributed to the guards for the purpose of preventing a mutiny: the soldiers made captives of such women as they could find, for the purpose of killing and devouring them,—to such misery was Egypt reduced. In this distress, Abd-el-Messiah applied to George, King of Nubia, by a Bishop, named Pamoun, whom he consecrated at that Monarch's request, and who dedicated a

church lately built by him, in which, it is worthy of notice, there were four altars; and sought from him an offering for the relief of the Patriarch.

Tranquillity was partially restored to Egypt by the defeat of Naserredoulah, the leader of the rebel Turks: the remains of his army betook themselves into the Thebais, where they spoiled the monasteries, and put to death many of the Monks. Naserredoulah being at length slain, these calamities ceased: the famine, much aggravated by the depredations of the Turks and Curds, was alleviated; and affairs began to assume their previous appearance. From this time, however, the real power of the Caliphs began to decline: the Vizirs, as had been for so long the case at Bagdad, gradually assumed the whole actual authority, leaving so much the less to the Fatimidæ than had been possessed by the Abbasidæ, as the schism, of which they were the religious heads, was smaller and feebler than the rest of the Mahometans, who reverenced the spiritual authority of the Caliph of Bagdad. The Egyptian Vizirs were appointed by A.D. 1073. the soldiers, who nominated the candidate that was most agreeable to them, or disposed to pay the largest sum for the dignity; and this without any reference to the inclination of the Caliph.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

The Vizir, his name was Bederelgemal, by whom the rebel Naserredoulah had been defeated, a hardhearted and wicked man, was informed that the Metropolitan of Ethiopia, by name Keuril, that is, Cyril, otherwise called Abdoun, was on such familiar terms with the Mahometans, who were tolerated in that country, as to invite them daily to his house, where among other things, they partook, in spite of the prohibition of Mahomet, of wine.[1] Enraged at this rumour, and by another account which he received from Nubia, (but which afterwards proved to be false,) the Vizir wrote to his son to arrest Abd-el-Messiah. The Patriarch protested that he had never ordained any Metropolitan for Ethiopia; but that, hearing of Abdoun's claim to that dignity, he had intended to dispatch thither Mercury, Bishop of Wissim, for the purpose of confirming the pretender in his office. Abd-el-Messiah appears to have thought it better to conciliate the Ethiopians by legitimatizing the unauthorized assumption of Abdoun, than by forcing them to accept another

[1] Le Quien, ii. 650, l.

Metropolitan to peril his own authority, and the peace of the Ethiopic Church. If Abdoun, then, was already a Bishop, he might easily receive Metropolitical dignity; if only a simple Priest, (an instance of which assumption we have already seen in the Annals of the Ethiopic Church,) Mercury of Wissim might ordain him. In this case, we must imagine that Abd-el-Messiah considered the case of sufficient urgency to justify a violation of the Canons, which imperatively demanded the presence of three Bishops, or else, that Mercury hoped to be able to associate with himself some of the seven Bishops whom it was allowed to the Metropolitan of Ethiopia to ordain. However this might be, the Vizir approved of the Patriarch's design: Mercury was sent into Ethiopia; and the Christians again enjoyed peace.

Abd-el-Messiah dispatched to, and received from the Jacobites of Antioch, the usual synodal letters. The latter were now much weakened, in consequence of that city having been so long repossessed by the Greek Emperors. It had been taken, in the year 968, by Nicephorus Phocas, and continued to make part of the Empire of Constantinople, till A.D. 1084, when it again fell into the hands of the Infidels. They, however, only held it for fourteen years: and it was then captured by the Crusaders.

Nothing further is related of Abd-el-Messiah, except that he was buried in the church of S. Mary, surnamed Muhallaca, at Misra; and that his body was afterwards transferred to the Monastery of S. Macarius. It was in the time of this Patriarch that Cairo became the fixed and official residence of the Jacobite successors of S. Mark.[1]

A.D. 1077.* Dec. 10.

Cyril II., Patr. lxvii. A.D. 1078.

In the election which followed the death of Abd-el-Messiah, we have the first hint that the Monks of S. Macarius attributed to themselves a particular voice in the matter. It was at this Monastery that the election took place, probably for the sake of more completely avoiding that secular influence to which the

Election influenced by the Monks of S. Macarius.

[1] Wansleb, p. 12.

* Renaudot, following Mauhoub, the continuator of Severus, makes Christodulus to have died in A.D. 1078. But Le Quien (ii. 482) shews that it must have been in A.D. 1077; because the historians name Saturday, Dec. 10, as the day of his decease. But the 10th of December in 1077 did fall on Saturday. Makrizi makes Christodulus to have been consecrated in A.D. 1047. and to have sat thirty years: so that he is exactly right.

rapacity of the Vizir, and the ambition of rich ecclesiastics, rendered the choice of a Patriarch liable. George, a Monk of S. Macarius, was, after a delay of two months, raised to the Throne of Alexandria, and on his election assumed the name of Cyril.[1] He was received by Moustansir with great honour, the mother and sister of the Caliph being present; and the new Patriarch was requested to bless the palace, which ceremony he performed with great state. His reception by the Vizir was also most flattering; and his Episcopate thus commenced under happy auspices.

A.D. 1080. The King of Nubia embraces the religious life.

Salmon, King of Nubia, weary of the turmoils of his kingdom, determined on embracing a solitary life; and for this purpose betook himself to the church of S. Onuphrius, which lay in the deserts at the extremity of the Upper Thebais, and at some distance from Asowan, the ancient Syene. It was announced at the Court of Cairo, that the King of Nubia was concealed within the territories of Moustansir; and a band of soldiers was dispatched to bring him to the Metropolis. Arrived, however, at Misra, he was received with much honour; drums and trumpets welcomed his entry, and the Vizir took care to provide him with commodious quarters and rich furniture, and continued his attentions till the death of the monarch, which took place about a year afterwards. The crown of Nubia had been left by Salmon to George, his sister's son; and this was done according to the singular custom previously introduced among the Nubians, and practised among the surrounding barbarians, by which a deceased monarch was succeeded, not by his son, but by the son of his sister.[2]

Affairs of Ethiopia.

We now turn to the affairs of Ethiopia. Severus, a young man, but possessing considerable learning, had set his desires on obtaining the metropolitical dignity of that country. To effect this purpose he applied to the Vizir, and not only promised a considerable sum of money, but engaged to do his utmost in reducing the Abyssinians to receive the Caliph's yoke: an event which he represented as easy to be effected. The Vizir gave him a recommendatory letter to Cyril; and Severus was consecrated

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, p. 449. Sollerius, p. 95*. Le Quien, ii. 482. Wansleb. p. 324. Elmacin. p. 279.

[2] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, p. 452.

to the dignity to which he aspired. On arriving, however, in Ethiopia, he found Abdoun, whom we have before mentioned, in possession of the See of Axum; but, as it would appear, the mission of Mercury of Wissim had been ineffectual in procuring the end for which it was designed, and Abdoun exercised the Metropolitical Office without having received Episcopal Consecration. Severus attacked his pretensions with vigour, and dwelt on the superiority of his own claims; and Abdoun, finding that it would be impossible to maintain a contest with his rival, collected together all his goods, and fled to Dah'laka. Here he was arrested, and sent to Cairo, where he was beheaded.

A.D. 1086.

Severus, Metropolitan of Axum.

Severus had been received with great honour; and as soon as he found himself firmly established at Axum, he turned his mind to the reformation of his people. Many abuses had crept in during the various periods of ecclesiastical anarchy to which the Ethiopians had been exposed: abuses rendered more tempting by the example of surrounding barbarians. Among these was the unrestrained practice of concubinage; which Severus earnestly endeavoured to extirpate. Rightly conjecturing that royal example would be more influential than episcopal precepts, he laboured to persuade the Emperor of the duty of disbanding his harem; and so far succeeded, that he only retained one concubine, the mother of some of his sons. The Metropolitan then wrote to Cyril, (and the letter had been seen by our historian, Mauhoub,) requesting him, in an epistle addressed to the Emperor of Ethiopia and to his counsellors, to set before them the heinousness of the connexions in which they indulged. Cyril did as he was urged, but without any, or at least without any permanent, effect; as we shall see when we come to relate the rediscovery of Ethiopia by the Portuguese.

It appears that the Fatimide Caliphs, or, to speak more properly, their Vizirs, were exceedingly jealous of any intercourse between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Emperor of Ethiopia, insomuch that any letter addressed by the latter to the former was opened at Cairo, and not forwarded to its destination except by the Sultan's leave. The Caliphs were also particularly careful that there should be, in those regions, a toleration for the Mahometan religion; for there were a few who professed this faith whom the desire of traffic induced to take up

their abode in them. Cyril, determined on abolishing simony, refused to receive any money for the bestowing Holy Orders; yet, by what is said to have been an ancient custom, though we now read of it for the first time, he reserved to himself a part of the episcopal revenues.[1]

Dispute between Cyril and his Suffragans.

A serious dispute arose, about this time, between Cyril and some of his Suffragans. It appears that this Patriarch, although a man of good character, had not been remarkable for his learning; and that the Bishops of Lower Egypt had on this very account given their votes in his favour, hoping that he would be compelled in any difficulty to have recourse to their counsel, and that they, in fact, would thus enjoy the real authority. But, after the example of his predecessor Demetrius,[2] Cyril applied himself so diligently to study that, as Mauhoub assures us, who was acquainted with him, and would sometimes lay before him difficult theological questions, the learning displayed in his answers was such as to exceed that of those who had hoped to govern him. Thus disappointed in their expectations, these Bishops were the more willing to lend themselves to any scheme for diminishing the authority of their Patriarch, and an opportunity was not long wanting. The Bishops of Abtou and Dikoua,[3] and one or two other ecclesiastics, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the principal Christian inhabitants of Misra, who requested Cyril to deprive them of his Communion; and such was their importunity in this request, that they extorted from the Patriarch a written document, by which he promised to comply with it. But, in point of fact, so far was he from fulfilling this promise, that, with one exception, he retained about himself the parties against whom complaint had been made. The Prelates, indignant at this conduct, presented a memorial to the Vizir, by his principal gardener, who was probably high in his master's favour, requesting him to examine, and to pass sentence upon, the behaviour of their Patriarch. Cyril was then at a distance and employed in the consecration of some churches; but was called by a mandate of the Vizir, to Misra, and the attendance of such Bishops

[1] Renaud. p. 456.

[2] Vol. i. p. 16.

[3] We can find no account of these Sees, unless indeed Abtou is the same with Aboutige, a See afterwards united with that of Siut or Lycopolis, and Gerga or Germium. Wansleb. pp. 1, 7, 26. Le Quien, ii. 375.

Council of Misra.

as could be present was commanded. The list of those who obeyed the summons has been preserved, and it is curious, as shewing the great strength which, after all their losses, the Jacobites yet possessed. We have seen that, in the most flourishing times of the Alexandrian Church, in the days of S. Athanasius or of S. Cyril, the number of Prelates who were Suffragans to the Chair of S. Mark little exceeded a hundred; and that a most important Council at Alexandria only reckoned that number. We now find the Synod of Misra attended by fifty-two Bishops: (five of whom, however, were prevented by ill-health from attending its deliberations.) Of these the historian reckons twenty-seven to have belonged to Lower Egypt; twenty-two to the Thebais; and places, in a class by themselves, the Bishops of Misra, Khandek, and Giza. And it is not probable that the whole of the Egyptian Bishops would be able to attend: indeed, from the historian's enumeration, we may be satisfied that a large number were absent. For we know that the Jacobite heresy prevailed more in the Thebais than in the Maritime Provinces, and therefore, in all probability, possessed a greater number of Prelates in the former than in the latter. Yet, in the list of Mauhoub, the proportion is reversed; perhaps on account of the difficulty which must have attended the journey from the furthest part of Upper Thebais to Cairo. Thus then the Jacobites may fairly be supposed to have possessed, at this period, sixty Prelates; or more than half of the whole number possessed by the most palmy days of the Catholic Church in Egypt. Those of the Melchites were probably not more than half as numerous, and, for the most part presiding in the same cities, give no great addition to the number of the Egyptian Sees.

A.D. 1086.

The Synod assembled in a country-house of the Vizir's near Misra.[1] The Vizir opened it with an harangue, in which he severely rebuked the Prelates for having neglected the honour which, as he was informed, was due from them to their Patriarch. It was impossible for him, he said, unacquainted with their customs, and ignorant of their laws, to judge in the case before him, unless he had some written documents to direct and to

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaudot, 457. Landon's Councils, p. 91.

confirm his decision. He therefore requested both the accuser and accused to prepare from their Canons and other ecclesiastical pieces, such a compendium as they thought most likely to enable him to pronounce a correct judgment, and to do that justice to both parties which he wished. The Synod thus dismissed, Cyril and his partizans drew up their authorities, and the same course was pursued by his opponents; and the documents thus prepared were put into the hands of the Vizir. After a delay of three weeks, in which he had punished with death his head gardener for contemptuous conduct towards the Patriarch, the Vizir again summoned the Bishops before him. He had not, he said, read the collections of Canons which they had put in his hands, nor did he mean to read them: his duty was plain, and so was theirs. He could do nothing else but exhort them to unity and peace, as worshippers of the same God, as professors of the same religion. He had heard complaints of the inordinate love of money exhibited by some then before him: he cautioned them against such avarice: the proper use which a Bishop should make of money was not to pamper his appetite nor to minister to his luxuries, but, as Christ Himself had commanded, to give alms to the poor: the Canons which they had brought forward were doubtless good, but it was better to practise than to quote them; the lives of some to whom he spoke fell far below the mark which they prescribed: charity, good faith, and brotherly kindness, were virtues which he could not too strongly recommend, nor they too strenuously follow. Finally, that he might not be accused of preaching that which he did not practise, he gave directions to one of his officers to inquire into the particular affairs of each Prelate, and to give him a written document assuring him of immunity and protection.

Moderation of the Vizir.

It is hardly possible to conceive the humiliation which such an address, on such an occasion, must have caused to its auditors. A Christian Patriarch and Christian Bishops were taught their duty by an Infidel; and heard that duty enforced by a reference to the commandments of Him Whom they worshipped, and Whose Godhead he denied. The prominent feeling, however, on all sides, seems to have been that of joy, that so dangerous an appeal had terminated so prosperously. Cyril and his Suffragans retired to give thanks to God in the church of S. Mercurius,

Humiliating condition of the Bishops.

where on the following Saturday and Sunday they celebrated the Holy Eucharist together. The kindness and good feeling displayed by one whose general character was as sanguinary as the Vizir's, may be accounted for by the fact that he was born of Christian parents in Armenia; and retained a favourable impression of the religion, as his partiality to the Armenians proved him to do of the country, of his childhood.

He shewed himself, however, less favourable to the Christians on an occasion in which his avarice was more peculiarly concerned. Several Prelates, and more particularly the Bishop of Khandek, were accused to him of having received in trust the property of those who had, in the late civil war, sided with Naseredoulah: and under pretence of compelling them to surrender money which was thus confiscated to the privy purse, exacted from them the sum of £8,000.

Sabas, Patr. LVI. A.D. 10..?

On the death of John, the Chair of S. Mark was filled by Sabas.[1] About this time, a son of Beder-el-gemal, persuaded by the relations of some who had suffered in the rebellion of Naseredoulah, raised the standard of revolt at Alexandria. His father hastened thither with an army: and the siege continued for two months. At the end of that time the city was surrendered on conditions which were not observed by the victor: £240,000 were exacted by way of fine from its inhabitants: and as the son of the Vizir continued to foment discontents, he was seized by his father's orders, and after an imprisonment of a year and a half, was put to death.[2]

A.D. 1087.

Canons of Cyril.

Cyril, whose residence at Cairo was undisturbed by these civil commotions, employed himself in the drawing up a body of Canons, which, after having been read in the churches of Misra, were by his directions sent into Upper Egypt. But the Jacobites in that part of the Diœcese rose against them; and refused to allow of any innovation on the discipline of their forefathers. At a latter period they were received into the Canon Law of the Coptic Church.

Visit of Gregory of Armenia.

A circumstance which occurred shortly afterwards, assisted in strengthening that heretical Communion. This was the visit of

[1] This Patriarch's name is also only known from the Cairo Catalogue. Le Quien, ii. 482.

[2] Mauhoub, ap. Renaud. p. 460.

Gregory, calling himself Patriarch of the Armenians: of whom we have spoken in our Introduction.

The two prelates, on comparing their Creeds, found them, it is said, in all essential points to coincide: Cyril being probably too much delighted by obtaining so powerful a coadjutor in the Monophysitic heresy, to peril their concord on this point by a reference to certain dogmas of faith and discipline, (as for example the refusal of the Armenians to mingle water with the Eucharistic Wine,) on which it is certain that the two Communions disagreed. Cyril, however, magnified the advantage which the visit of Gregory had given him, by causing it to be publicly stated that the Churches of Egypt, Ethiopia, Nubia, Syria, and Armenia, were united in bearing testimony to the ancient Catholic Faith, and in anathematizing its corruptions, first by Nestorius, and afterwards by Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon.

False concordat between the Jacobite and Armenian Communions.

The affairs, however, of Ethiopia were such as to cause considerable uneasiness to Cyril. The brother of the Metropolitan of Axum arrived in Egypt with presents, which did not, it would appear, satisfy the rapacity of the Caliph or of his Vizir. The Patriarch was summoned, and, accompanied by ten of his Suffragans, presented himself at Court; when he was asked, how he had ventured to consecrate a Metropolitan for Ethiopia, without the usual presents to the Privy Purse? and why the Metropolitan so consecrated had neglected, as bound by promise, to build mosques for the accommodation of the Mahometans in the region over which he presided? He was commanded, without loss of time, to send two Prelates into Ethiopia on this unchristian errand: and until this was done, the Patriarch himself, and each of the Bishops present, was given in custody to two guards, to whom each was obliged to pay the sum of four pounds daily. The Christians were in consternation, at the sudden change of the Vizir from his accustomed lenity to extraordinary harshness. While affairs were in this state, an embassy arrived from Basilius, king of Nubia, charged with presents for the Court of Cairo: among the persons who composed it, was the son of the late King, who requested to be ordained Bishop:— the Nubian line of succession, as we have previously observed, descending, not from father to son, but from uncle to nephew. On this, the Vizir, probably glad to have the counsel of some

A.D. 1089. Affairs of Ethiopia.

who were better acquainted than himself with the affairs of Ethiopia, again summoned the Patriarch and his Suffragans, and repeated the accusation, that whereas the Metropolitan of Ethiopia had promised to build four mosques in his province, he had utterly failed in making this engagement good. The brother of the Archbishop replied, that so far from erecting four only, he had, in fact, built seven: that the Ethiopians, indignant at this act, levelled them with the ground, and endeavoured to put to death the Metropolitan; that the Emperor, though not allowing them to proceed to such an act of violence, had nevertheless thrown him into prison. Beder-el-gemal was at length pacified: and only insisted in his demand that two Bishops should go into Ethiopia, and endeavour to obtain the rebuilding of the destroyed mosques. With them he sent an ambassador, to inform the king, that unless the mosques in question were permitted to stand, all the churches in Egypt should be thrown down.[1] The king, undaunted by this menace, replied that in that case, or if even a single stone of one of GOD's Temples were touched, he himself would send to the Court of Cairo every brick and stone of Mecca: and that with so thorough a destruction of the city, that if one only should be wanting, it should be replaced[2] with its weight in gold.

Death of *Cyril II.*, June 6, 1092.

Cyril's attention to the poor, and to the restoration of the churches, is said to have been constant: and his fasts frequent and strict. It is worthy of notice, as shewing how completely the Arabic was superseding the Coptic, as a spoken language, that the Patriarch is said to have turned his attention to the obtaining a thorough mastery over it.

On the death of Cyril, the contentions for his succession were even more than usually protracted; one ecclesiastic proposed, Simon the Syrian, having been rejected for having taught that the Body of our LORD was consubstantial with the WORD according to Its Divinity. The assembled Prelates took advan-

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaud. p. 461.

[2] Renaudot (p. 464) seems disposed to reject this story, on account of the almost incredible wickedness which it attributes to the Metropolitan of Axum:—the sowing of the seeds of apostasy among a people actually unwilling to receive them. But, after the monstrous crimes perpetrated in the wretched Church of Ethiopia, we can hardly be surprised at any guilt committed by its Prelates.

tage of the power put into their hands to draw up four articles which they compelled the elected candidate, Chail, a Monk in a Religious House near Sinjara, to sign, before they would consent to raise him to the Episcopal Office. The first of these concerned an Orthodox Confession of Faith: the second, the annual stipend to the Clergy of Alexandria: the third, the abolition of Simony: and the fourth, the resignation of certain claims which were considered by the other Prelates to invade the Episcopal rights of the Patriarch's Suffragans. Chail bound himself, under an anathema, to observe the proposed conditions.[1] How he fulfilled his pledge, the sequel will shew.

Chail iv. Patr. lxviii. A.D. 1092.*

Conditions exacted of him.

SECTION XX.

STATE OF THE EAST.

But, on the eve of entering on a relation of the influence produced on the Alexandrian, and other branches of the Oriental Church, by the first Crusade, it seems not amiss to turn our eyes to the condition of the East, at the time of Chail's accession.[2]

State of the East.

The family of the Seljukidæ were now in possession of an immense empire, comprising the whole of Asia Minor, the savage regions which surround the Caspian Sea, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining countries: in fact it extended from Constantinople to the borders of China. The origin of this family is to be sought in Turkistan. Having embraced Mahometanism, they speedily, among the well disciplined Turks, began to arrive at distinction. Togrul-beg, the grandson of Seljoukt, possessed himself of the province of Chorassan: and was called by the Abbaside Caliph Kayem to his assistance. For a Turk named Basa-

Rise of the Seljukidæ

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaud. p. 471. Makrizi, § 462. Sollerius, p. 95*. Elmacin. p. 289. Le Quien, ii. 483. Wansleb. p. 324. Alex. Catal.

[2] Renaud. p. 439. Elmacin. p. 271. Abu'lfaraj, p. 222. *seq.* Gibbon, x. 344. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzuge. i. 198.

* Renaudot gives a year later: which cannot be correct, if Makrizi's account be true, that the See was vacant 124 days.

sir had expelled the latter from Bagdad, and ordered the Egyptian Moustansir, as the representative of the House of the Fatimidæ, to be prayed for in the mosques. Between this rebel and Togrul-beg a civil war raged for some years: the latter was at length victorious; Kayem was restored; and Togrul-beg succeeded to the actual authority, though leaving the name of Caliph in the hands of the representative of the Abbasidæ. His nephew, and successor, Albarslan, increased and confirmed the empires he left him: among other victories, that which he gained over the Greek Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, is especially celebrated. "What would you have done to me," inquired the victor, "had our conditions been reversed?" "I should have caused thee," replied Romanus, "to be scourged to death." "And I," rejoined Albarslan, "will not imitate your cruelty: for I am informed that CHRIST, your Prophet, commands the forgiveness of injuries." And far from insisting on any iniquitous terms, he dismissed the Greek Emperor with an honourable peace.[1] He was succeeded by Melek Schah, one of the greatest princes of his age. His good faith, extended views, mildness, taste, kind treatment of his inferiors, afford a pleasing contrast to the usual character of Mahometan tyrants. He lightened or removed taxes throughout the whole of his vast empire: was assiduous in the erection of mosques, schools, bridges, and baths; in the construction of good roads, and the fitting up their necessary concomitants, caravanseras. Not only is he free from the charge of cruelty, extortion, and rapine; but even from that of licentiousness. He died, after a glorious reign of twenty years, when only in the thirty-ninth of his age: and the civil wars of his four sons soon brought the empire of the Seljukidæ to that degree of weakness, as to smooth the way for the irruptions and conquests of the first Crusaders.

Togrul-beg.

A.D. 1071.

Albarslan.

Melek Schah.

Thus much with reference to the powers of this world: let us now glance at the state of the Eastern Church. The Throne of Constantinople, which had lately been occupied by those who did honour to their election, and were not, as had too frequently been the case, the mere nominees of an absolute master, raised to gratify his caprice, and removed to make way for his other arrangements, was now possessed by Nicholas the gram-

The Eastern Church.

[1] Gibbon, x. 361, with his numerous authorities.

marian. Notwithstanding his surname, he was not distinguished for his learning, although his attainments were above contempt: but he is honourably mentioned for his piety and virtue. Indeed he is also known by the name of Theoprobletos, as if raised by a special act of Divine Providence to his high dignity.[1] Constantinople:

The Church of Antioch had been grievously weakened: not only, like her sister of Alexandria, by heresy, schism, and by the oppression of the Infidels, but by the continued absence of the orthodox Patriarch at Constantinople, during the first possession of this city by the Saracens. For, as we have seen, it underwent a repeated change of masters: won back by the Greek Emperors from the Infidels, it was again wrested from them by the arms of Melek Schah, fourteen years before the Crusaders entered it. The present Patriarch was Æmilian, who appears to have mixed himself up with the intrigues of the Constantinopolitan Court.[2] Jerusalem, then in the lowest state of degradation, had Simeon for its Patriarch; that same Simeon, with whose concurrence Peter the Hermit returned to Europe to preach, by Pope Urban's authority, the Holy War which was, for a time, to deliver the Sepulchre from the Infidels. Abd-jesus, the third of that name, was Catholic of the vast Nestorian Diœcese of Chaldæa, or Babylon.[3] Antioch: Jerusalem.

This then was the condition of the East when Chail was elected. During his Pontificate it was, that the Council of Clermont declared it to be "the will of God" that Jerusalem should be rescued from the infidels: that Hugh the Great, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, the chivalrous Raimond of Toulouse, the saintly Godfrey of Bouillon, poured their gallant hosts into the Holy Land. And here the historian of Alexandria may be forgiven if he feels it, for the moment, hard to turn away his eyes from conquests which he is not called on to relate; and which brought nothing to the Church of which he is writing, but the chain of a severer tyranny, and the grief of a second schism. The conquest of Nicæa, the capture of Antioch, the storm of Jerusalem, were confined, in their glorious results, to the two Eastern Patriarchates; but the melancholy The First Crusade.

[1] Le Quien, xxi. 265.

[2] Niceph. Bryenn. ii. 28. Joann. Seylitz. p. 861. Le Quien, ii. 755.

[3] Will. Tyr. I. 11. Albert. Aquens, vi. 39. Le Quien, iii. 498. Wilken, i. 47.

widening of the separation between the Greek and Latin Churches to which they led, was felt by the Throne of S. Mark as much as by those of Antioch or Jerusalem. We now return to the historical detail of events.

SECTION XXI.

PATRIARCHATE OF CHAIL AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Patriarchate of Chail.

Perjury of Chail.

CHAIL no sooner found himself safely established in the object of his ambition than he began to give his elevators cause for bitter repentance. Among the stipulations included in that article which he had signed, bearing on the retrenchment of certain exorbitant claims of the late Patriarchs, one referred to the restitution of some churches to the See of Misra, the jurisdiction of which had been usurped by Abd-el-Messiah. Chenouda, the then Bishop of that city, shortly after the consecration of Chail, reminded him of this promise, and requested him to fulfil it. To his astonishment and indignation, the Patriarch denied that he had ever subscribed such an agreement. "But," persisted Chenouda, "I have witnesses to the deed." "And I," rejoined Chail, "will excommunicate any who ventures to come forward in that character against me." Several copies of the agreement had been taken; one was in the keeping of the Alexandrian Clergy; one in that of the Bishop of Xois, as the oldest of the Jacobite Prelates; and one in that of the Bishop of Misra himself, either as a party interested, or as having in fact (though nominal rank went by seniority) the see of most importance next to that of Alexandria. Of the two former copies, Chail, by threats and promises, obtained possession: but as the last mentioned Prelate remained firm in his refusal to surrender the document, he was threatened by his superior with a trial. Fearing that the personal influence of the Patriarch would be of more avail than his own innocence, the Prelate left Misra, and retired to a monastery: and it would appear that Chail did not venture to regard the See as vacant, and to fill it. As the temporal affairs of the Jacobites were settled in their

Bishop's Court, great inconvenience was occasioned by his absence to the inhabitants of a city so near the Court: and a strong representation being addressed to Chail, he at length consented to the return of the obnoxious Bishop.

It is possible that had the able and vigilant Beder-el-gemal been possessed of his usual activity, an appeal would have been made to the secular power against the tyranny of the Patriarch. But no long time after the consecration of Chail, the Vizir departed this life; leaving behind him the character of a powerful, diligent, and able minister: but an unscrupulous, violent, and too often tyrannical, man. Before his death, he wrung from the feeble Moustansir, himself on the brink of the grave, a confirmation of all the powers and dignities which he enjoyed to his son Abu'lkacem, commonly known by the name of Afdal. This hereditary Vizirship was a sure proof that the fall of the Fatimide Caliphate could not be very far distant. Afdal, however, used his enormous power, which, if anything, was superior to that of his father, to the public good; and his temperance, equity, and prudence are highly praised by the continuer of Severus.[1] A.D. 1094.

Succession in the Fatimide Caliphate

The death of Beder-el-gemal was followed by that of Moustansir; a prince remarkable for nothing but his prolonged reign of sixty years. He was succeeded by his younger son, Mostali; Afdal, to gratify a private resentment, having caused the elder brother to be set aside. The latter revenged himself by seizing on Alexandria, the unfortunate battle-field of such rebels; he was besieged in that city by Afdal, compelled to surrender, and allowed to retain his life: but on endeavouring to excite a second revolt, was thrown into prison, and there walled up.

Before the end of the eleventh century, as it seems probable, Sabas was succeeded by Theodosius in the Chair of S. Mark.[2]

The earlier years of the Pontificate of Chail are totally barren of interest: at the end of this period Mostali was succeeded by his young son Amer-beahacam-illah, a child of six years old. At the same time, the Church of Ethiopia, again deprived of

Theodosius, Patr. LVII. A.D. 10..?

[1] Mauhoub, ap. Renaud. p. 474.

[2] This name is only known from the Cairo Catalogue.

a Metropolitan, requested the permission of Afdal for the consecration of another. Afdal accordingly enjoined Chail to gratify the wishes of the ambassador; and the Patriarch consecrated one George to the office. But, on arriving in Ethiopia, the licentious character and the avarice of the new Metropolitan raised a popular outcry against him: the King confiscated all the money which he had unscrupulously gained, and sent him back into Egypt, where the Vizir imprisoned him.[1]

A.D. 1102

Chail, freed from the awe with which he had been inspired by the severity of Beder-el-gemal, now found time to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy Bishop of Misra. But, anxious to give a colour of justice to his proceedings, he summoned a Synod of Bishops, before whom he denounced his enemy as guilty of having, in the time of Cyril, twice celebrated the Holy Eucharist in the same day. On this account, he continued, he had been excommunicated by the late Patriarch, and never having been absolved, must be considered as *ipso facto* deprived of not only the episcopal, but even of the sacerdotal, character. The Council were aware of the motive which led Chail to pursue this course; but, overawed by his ferocity, they subscribed the sentence which he had dictated. Chenouda, the obnoxious Prelate, received a citation from the Patriarch to present himself for the purpose of being deposed; but, rightly judging that his only safety lay in escape, he took refuge in the house of a friend at Misra. Chail proceeded to take possession of the church of S. Sergius, which he claimed as under the jurisdiction of the See of Alexandria; and on the following day, the Vigil of Pentecost, went out in pomp to pay his respects to Afdal, who was returning from Tanis. As soon as the customary salutations were over, and the Patriarch had remounted, he was seized with the plague; and being carried home, ended his wicked life on the following day.[2] Chenouda then openly returned to the exercise of his functions, and was received with great joy.[3]

Chail attacks Chenouda, Bishop of Misra:

procures his condemnation in a Synod.

Miserable death of Chail IV. May 25, 1102.

On the death of Chail, a delay arose in proceeding to the choice of a successor from a cause which sets the position of the

[1] Le Quien, ii. 652.

[2] This Patriarch, notwithstanding his enormities, is commemorated in the Ethiopic calendar on the day of his decease.

[3] The singular account of the mis-

Jacobite Bishops in no very favourable light. The late Patriarch, as we have seen, had departed this life on the Feast of Pentecost: but so busily were the Bishops employed in their harvest labours, and other agricultural operations of a similar character, that the Synod for the election of another Patriarch was not held till Holy Cross day, which, among the Egyptians as among ourselves, is the fourteenth of September. The candidates were two: John, a Deacon, and Macarius, a Priest of the Monastery of S. Macarius. The former had the reputation of learning, and was remarkable for eloquence, but still young: the latter, deeply versed in the Canons, endowed, like his rival, with the power of speaking, and having all the experience which years could give him. The votes of the Synod were decided by that Canon which enjoins that every Bishop should have passed the age of fifty: and Macarius was elected.[1] He, however, was as unwilling to accept, as some of his predecessors had been anxious to claim, the Patriarchal dignity: and pleaded his incompetency for the office, as having been the offspring of a second marriage. As, however, this Canon only applied to the second marriage of the mother, and not of the father, the excuse was overruled, and the consecration took place in the usual form. The Alexandrians, with their usual rapacity, demanded a bond for the pension accustomably paid them by their Patriarch: Macarius refused to be tied down to the sum they mentioned, but promised to give them as much as the poverty of his See would allow. As they persisted, he requested to be allowed again to take refuge in his beloved monastery: and the Alexandrians contented themselves with his written promise for less than half the sum that they had at first demanded.

Protracted election.

Macarius II. Patr. lxix. A.D. 1102.

The recent conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, while it inspired the Melchites with fresh determination to uphold the faith of Chalcedon, and with hope that the day of their deliverance also might be approaching, had considerably weakened, not only the Jacobite party, but also the Fatimide Caliphate. For, at the

sion of this Prelate into Ethiopia, to inquire into the causes of the fall of the Nile, if to be credited in any degree, is at least but remotely connected with our history, and would involve a lengthened geographical discussion.—Renaudot, 480, *seq.*

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 486. Sollerius, p. 96*. Wansleb. p. 324. Le Quien, ii. 484. Elmacin. p. 298.

Relation of the Egyptian Caliphate and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

time of its capture, Jerusalem was in the possession of Mostali, or rather of Afdal, by whom, three years before, it had been wrested from the House of the Seljukidæ. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem, till then equally undertaken by the Jacobites and by the Orthodox, was, shortly after its conquest, forbidden to the former by the Western Christians: and this circumstance, which could not be concealed, and was the subject of deep lamentations to the Egyptian heretics, must have tended to open the eyes of the Court to the real truth of their claims to be the True Church, and must have served to raise the hitherto contemned Melchites in their opinion.

Cyril, at this time, or shortly after, was called by the Catholics to the Throne of S. Mark. He was a distinguished physician, grammarian, and poet: and several of his works, although not printed, are extant.[1]

Cyril II. Patr. LVIII. A.D 11.. ?

Up to this period, there had been a considerable confusion in the chronology of the Egyptian Christians,—arising from the following circumstance. In their dealings with foreign Christians, and with each other, they used the era of Martyrs, which, on a former occasion, we explained: and this was more especi-

Computation by solar years forbidden.

ally the case in their Ecclesiastical histories. In their intercourse with the Mahometans, however, they found it necessary to employ the era of the Hegira: but although dating from the same epoch with their infidel conquerors, their computations were not the same. The Mahometan reckoned by lunar, the Christian by solar years: and as these differ in the proportion of 354 to 365, it follows, that at the end of every thirty-three years, the latter found themselves one year behind the vulgar computation. In the fifth year of the Patriarchate of Macarius, an edict was issued by Afdal, forbidding, for the future, in public transactions, the use of the solar year.[2]

Macarius, among other changes which he made in the Ecclesiastical ceremonies of the Jacobites, issued one constitution which shews into how miserably degraded a state his people had sunk.

[1] As, for example, in the Library at Paris, a volume of Greek Iambics: (Cod. Colb. 6708) and a Lexicon: (Id. 2748). It is certain that Cyril was orthodox, because the Jacobites never gave the title of Archbishop to their Patriarch,—the title which Cyril, in one or two of the above-mentioned MSS., receives. Le Quien, ii. 484.

[2] Renaud. p. 490.

Hitherto, says his biographer, it had been the custom that children should first be baptized, and then circumcised: he reversed the order. Besides these alterations, we read little more of the actions of this Patriarch. A.D. 1107.

In the meantime, the Catholics of Egypt were looking eagerly for help from their brethren at Jerusalem. On the death of Godfrey, and accession of Baldwin, Afdal seems to have hoped that a kingdom so lately founded, and so feebly supported, might without difficulty be overthrown. But one or two trials enabled him to form a truer estimate of the valour of the Christians: and the arrival of a reinforcement from the West, under the Archbishop of Milan, the Count of Parma, and other spiritual and temporal dignitaries, proved to him that Jerusalem was, for the present at least, lost to the Fatimidæ. Cyril, and his persecuted flock, already encouraged by the capture of Cæsarea, began to entertain sanguine expectations from the new Crusade: but a battle imprudently ventured by Baldwin was followed by his utter rout: a great slaughter was made among the Christians: and the Archbishop of Salzburg, being taken prisoner by the Infidels, suffered constantly for the Name of CHRIST, and is reckoned among the Martyrs. A truce was, two years after, agreed upon between Baldwin and Afdal: and the expectations of Cyril were for the present disappointed.[1] War between Baldwin and Afdal. A.D. 1103.

Indeed, the views with which the King of Jerusalem proposed to increase his conquests, were such as must have struck consternation into the Patriarch of Alexandria. He learned that Baldwin had obtained from Pope Pascal II., a bull, whereby all the new conquests from the Infidels were annexed to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The degree of schism involved by the establishment of the Latin Church in the East, under the peculiar circumstances attending the success of the First Crusade, we may hereafter have a fitter occasion to consider. But that this grant of Pope Pascal's was a monstrous act of schism, hardly any one will deny. Bernard, Latin Patriarch of Antioch, lost no time in protesting against it: and the answer, or rather retractation, of Pascal seems almost to amount to a confession of previous error. The peace between Baldwin and the Fatimidæ A.D. 1116. Schismatical proceedings of Rome.

[1] Will. Tyr. xi. 29. Wilken, ii. 404.

continued for some years: at length, whether induced by the solicitations of Cyril, or urged by his own desires of enlarging his kingdom, the former marched into Egypt. He laid siege to, and took Farma,[1] the ancient Rhinocorura: from thence he advanced to El Arisch, where he was seized with a sudden and mortal illness. His body was embalmed, and carried back to
A.D. 1118. Jerusalem: where it reposes in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Thus Cyril's hopes were again disappointed: and no long time afterwards he was removed from the vicissitudes of earthly hopes and fears. The year of his death is not ascertained; but he was succeeded by Eulogius.[2]

Afdal had now governed Egypt for more than twenty years. With the single exception of his wars against Baldwin, his designs had been successful:—his probity and humanity were well known; and his character in the highest degree popular.
Eulogius II. Patr. LIX. A.D? 11 . . ? Amer, who had grown up under his tuition, could not bear the power which the Vizir arrogated to himself. With the melancholy spectacle of the Abbasidæ before his eyes, he beheld the Fatimide House gradually, like them, reduced to a shadow of power: while the real authority lay in the Minister. Unable to remove the obnoxious Vizir by fair means, he hired two of the
Murder of Afdal. A.D. 1121.
A.D. 1129. Assassins, who fell upon him, in the open air, and dispatched him. Amer, by a righteous judgment, was some years after slain in a similar way: the friends and relations of Afdal were said to have been guilty of the murder.

But before this event took place, the heresy of the Bogomili, which had made fearful ravages in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, had begun to excite attention in that of Alexandria.

[1] Renaud. p. 495. Wilken, ii. 409. We are inclined to believe both these writers slightly mistaken; Renaudot, in confusing Farma with Faraina, or Faramiah, near Truch; and Wilken in saying that at this Faramiah, Baldwin died. Albertus Aquensis describes the city as "de regno Babylonis urbs speciosissima, non amplius quam trium dierum itinere à Babyloniâ distans." Whichever of the two cities may be intended, Wilken's observation is equally true. "Doch würden wohl nicht weniger als seis Tagereisen erforderlich seyn." The whole relation proves that, correctly speaking, Rhinocorura and El Arisch were not the same place.

[2] His name is preserved by a treatise extant in MS. (Biblioth. Medic. Plut. Cod. xiii.) against the Bogomili.

These fanatics had their rise, at the beginning of the twelfth century, in Bulgaria: and their name implied those who called on GOD for mercy. But they were, in fact, merely a branch of that great body of Manichees, which, under various names, such as Albigenses, and Good-men, infested at this period, or later, various parts of Europe. Their principal errors consisted in rejecting the writings of Moses: in affirming that Satan, before his fall, had been the Son of GOD: that the Incarnation and Passion were only appearances, assumed to confound the Devil: that consequently the Sign of the Cross was to be held in abhorrence: that Baptism and the Holy Eucharist were of no avail: that no prayer, except the LORD'S Prayer, was to be employed: that material temples were the habitations of demons: that Images were to be regarded as idols: that it was allowable, for the preservation of life, to deny the truth: and many others of a less important nature. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus used considerable pains to discover the true principles of this Sect: for as its members would not confess them, when such confession might be attended with risk or difficulty, stratagem was necessary, in order to arrive at the truth. Basil, the chief of the Bogomili, was invited by Alexius to the palace, and requested to explain his doctrine, the Emperor assuring him that both himself and his brother Isaac desired to be his disciples. Apprehensive at first of some deception, the fanatic gradually allowed himself to be prevailed on: he explained fully his tenets, while a secretary, concealed behind a curtain, took down his words. Search was then made on all sides for his converts and partizans, and a great multitude were taken into custody. But among these were many who avowed themselves innocent of the crimes laid to their charge: and how to distinguish between the real and the pretended heretics appeared a question of difficulty. Alexius at length devised a solution of the problem. He condemned them all, indiscriminately, to be burnt alive, and for this purpose constructed two furnaces, at the mouth of one of which a Cross was fixed. "The prisoners," said Alexius, "will have their choice as to the furnace in which they are about to suffer: and those who die in the true Catholic Faith, will doubtless prove their allegiance to it, by selecting that for the spot of their death, which is sanctified by the Sign of the Cross." The

Heresy of the Bogomili.

accused separated themselves into two parties: the veritable Bogomili, who conceived that no hope remained in concealment, avoiding, as their tenets taught them, the Cross.

Having thus obtained the information which he sought, the Catholics were set free, and dismissed with a high encomium; the heretics sent back to prison, where great efforts were made for their conversion. In some cases these endeavours were successful: but Basil himself continuing obstinate, was condemned to the flames, and publicly burnt in the hippodrome. His principal followers were committed to prison. It was then with these heretics that Eulogius entered into controversy: and his work, though unpublished, is extant. It does not appear that this sect ever extended itself within the Diœcese of Alexandria.

Disputed succession of the Caliphate.

On the death of Amer, there was every prospect of an end to the Fatimide Dynasty.[1] Ahmed, the son of Afdal, had been imprisoned by Amer immediately after the murder of his father: but now recovering his liberty, he endeavoured to secure the Caliphate to himself. This was prevented both by the opposition of several of the most influential noblemen at Court, and by the superstition of the people, who held that no Fatimide Caliph would die without leaving a male heir. As the queen of Amer was pregnant at the time of her husband's death, it was agreed that the Caliphate should remain vacant till her delivery, Hafeth, a relation of the late Caliph, in the meantime, carrying on the government: that then, if the infant proved a son, he should be acknowledged Caliph; if a daughter, the Viceroy should succeed. The latter proved to be the case, and Hafeth was accordingly proclaimed Caliph. But the civil commotions did not end here: the two sons of Hafeth, each eager to be his successor, incited popular tumults, which were only quelled by the accession of Tageddoula, an Armenian and a Christian, to the Vizirate. Hafeth thus sank into the subordinate situation occupied by his predecessors.[2]

A.D. 1131.

[1] Renaud. p. 504.

[2] We here take our leave of the historian Elmacinus.—He has hardly, as a writer, obtained the credit he deserves. His general accuracy and fidelity are very far above that of Eutychius; and his history is deserving of some praise, as a composition. But did we not know from other quarters that he was a Christian, we should be unable to discover it from his work, till we came to the very conclusion, where he quotes the text, "he that glorieth, let him glory in the LORD." His man-

In the meantime Macarius the Jacobite Patriarch, whose character seems to have stood somewhat higher than that of the preceding Bishops, departed this life: and a vacancy ensued of about two years. Some alterations in the ceremonies attendant on the Liturgy were made by this Patriarch, which appear to have been adopted without hesitation by his Diœcese.[1] Indeed, the condition of the Jacobite Communion seems at this time to have been much depressed. In the Synod, if it may be so called, which met at Cairo to proceed to another election, there were no Bishops present: and the principal persons who were assembled agreed to proceed to the Monastery of S. Macarius, and to abide by the decision of one Joseph, a Syrian Monk of considerable reputation. He named Abulolah-ben-Tarik, as worthy of the dignity which they sought to fill: and his recommendation was followed.[2] The new Patriarch, who took the name of Gabriel, was in the forty-eighth year of his age: born of a noble family at Cairo, he had been in the earlier part of his life a secretary of the Divan: raised to the Diaconate, and attached to the church of S. Sergius[3] in his native city, he had distinguished himself as well by his prudence, piety, hospitality, and almsgiving, as by his learning: he was well acquainted both with Coptic and Arabic and a successful collector of manuscripts. No sooner was he consecrated, than he was involved in a theological dispute with the Monks of S. Macarius, on the

Death of *Macarius II.* Dec. 19, 1129.

A.D. 1129.

Gabriel II. Patr. lxx. A.D. 1131.

ner of writing is perfectly Mahometan, Abubeker "of happy memory," Omar "of happy memory," and the like expressions, crowd his pages:—and such an one "believed" is his phrase for the adoption of Mahometanism. Elmacinus has been unfortunate in his translator, Erpenius, a man well skilled in Arabic, but knowing nothing of Ecclesiastical History, and in consequence, frequently falling into great errors. It is a very great loss to Alexandrian History that Elmacinus was not a Catholic:—we should then have possessed some more satisfactory information about the Melchite succession;—while Makrizi, and Severus with his continuers, would have amply supplied us with that of the Jacobites. On bidding an historian farewell, we are bound to give the reader his name at length—George Elmacinus, the son of Abu'ljaser Elamid the son of Abu'lmacem, the son of Abu'ltel.

[1] These changes are only worthy of mention because certain Protestant writers have endeavoured to prop their own abolition of ceremonies by a reference to them, as if Macarius had abolished the rites till then used by his Church.

[2] Marcus ben Zaraa, ap. Renaud. p. 500. Makrizi, § 472. Sollerius, p. 96*. Le Quien, ii. 485.

[3] Makrizi says S. Mercurius.

phraseology of the prayer, or rather Confession of Faith, before the Communion. They objected to the phrase, that the SAVIOUR, in taking Flesh of His Blessed Mother, had made it one with His Divinity:—the Patriarch insisted on it, as of long established use in the Church. The dispute was at length compromised by the addition of the words, "without division, commixtion, or confusion." But this alteration was not generally received.

Patriarchs of the Armenians.

The Vizir Tageddoula was brother to that Gregory, of whom we have already spoken as Patriarch of the Armenians. The latter had, it would appear, either lately returned into Egypt for the purpose of congratulating his brother, or had never left the country. He died about this time; and Gabriel consecrated as his successor, Ananias. It does not appear by what right the Patriarch of Alexandria thus interfered: it might possibly be in consequence of a request to that effect from Gregory on his death-bed. But the consecration does not seem to have been recognised by the Armenians, as we find Nierses named as the successor of Gregory.[1] Such, in the meantime, was the favour shown by Tageddoula to Christians, and such the facility with which he raised them to the principal offices of the Divan, that the Mahometan frequenters of the Court took umbrage, and asserted that many would embrace Christianity for the sake of its temporal advantages. They were headed by one Rodowan, who cloaked his desire of the Vizirate under a pretence of superior zeal for Mahomet; and Tageddoula, although amply able, from the multitude of his retainers, to have resisted with good hopes of success, declared himself unwilling to cause the effusion of human blood, and with some of his friends, retired into the Thebais, and took refuge with a brother, the governor of Cus, the ancient Cusæ. Rodowan had already sent messengers to the inhabitants, exhorting them not to receive the late Vizir: they rose against their governor, put him to death, and buried him with ignominy. Tageddoula retired from the city, and, having collected a few friends, advanced to form its siege; but finding his efforts unsuccessful, he disbanded his troops, departed by himself into the desert, and embraced the monastic

Contest for the Vizirate.

[1] Le Quien, i. 1399.

life. Rodowan, determined to possess himself of his rival's person, led a band of men into the Thebais to secure it: but on learning that Tageddoula had taken the religious vow, he allowed him to depart unhurt.

The new Vizir, resolved to shew his dislike of the policy of his predecessor, entered Misra in triumph, and allowed his troops to sack the houses of the Christians, as well in the city as in its suburbs. He issued an edict, forbidding any, whether Jacobite or Melchite, to hold any office in the Divan, and enforcing the old law which compelled them to wear a girdle, and forbade them to use a horse. At the same time, he doubled their tributes. The harshness of Rodowan excited a sedition against him, for the authority of the Caliph appears to have been merely nominal, and the Vizir and the people were allowed by him to contend for the real authority. He was compelled to fly: but, collecting a band of Arabians, he again attempted to resume his office, and in his first combat was successful. But, being defeated in a second, he had the good sense to desist from his pretensions, and to live, as a private individual, at the Court of Cairo.[1] Circ. 1138.

The Caliph, utterly unequal to the management of his empire, sent a message to Tageddoula, requesting him to resume the Vizirate. He replied, that not only would the religious vow which he had taken forbid such a thought, but that his heart was in his present life, and he regarded himself as a simple Monk, and no longer as a soldier. He accepted, however, an invitation to Court, where he appears to have practised, in retirement, the monastic life, and where he died in peace.

Affairs of the Armenians.

The state of the Armenians at this time is almost unparalleled in ecclesiastical history. Pure schismatics, even among the Jacobites, they were not only tolerated by that sect, but viewed by them with some favour, on account of their equal hatred of the Creed of Chalcedon. They now possessed a Bishop at Atfieh; and on the death of Ananias, who had been slain by Rodowan, together with many other Armenians, they wished to elevate him to their own Patriarchate. To render the ceremony more solemn, they requested Gabriel to be present: but that

[1] Marcus ben Zaraa ap. Renaud. p. 507.

Patriarch, although unwilling to offend them by his absence, was by no means disposed to perform the consecration himself. Steering, therefore, a middle course, he first celebrated the Liturgy in his own Church; and, after breaking his fast, went to that of the Armenians. For it is a pious custom of the Eastern Church, that not only must the Priest be fasting who celebrates mass; but that the case should be the same with respect to all the Sacraments: to baptize, to consecrate, to give the Nuptial Benediction, all require previous abstinence from food.

This election, like that of Ananias, appears to have been unrecognized by the Armenians generally. The question of the intercourse of the Egyptian portion of that Church with the Alexandrian Jacobites, is one of considerable difficulty. It is certain that there could have been no intercommunion between these two branches of Monophysites, previously to the arrival of Gregory in Egypt, for the publication of his tenets could not have been received with such triumph by those who were previously acquainted with them. It is also equally certain, that the Armenians were guilty of two practices, which the whole Eastern Church considers grave errors: the one, the non-admixture of water in the Eucharistic cup; the other, the use—like the Latin Church—of unleavened bread. But it is probable, that the perfect intercommunion which appears now to have existed between these two bodies, was occasioned not only by their common hatred of the Melchites, but by the favour with which, since the times of Beder-el-gemal, himself an Armenian, his Christian countrymen were regarded by the Court of Cairo. It would appear that, although the Patriarch did not entirely approve of an Armenian succession being kept up in his own Diœcese, his prudence, or policy, prompted him to allow his Suffragans to do that in which he refused to take[1] a personal share.[2]

[1] Renaudot (509) seems to assume that the consecraters on this occasion were Egyptian Bishops, and the course of the narrative certainly seems to lead to this result. But at the same time, as we find that in the time of Ananias, the Armenians were possessed of a Bishop at Atfieh, besides their so-called Patriarch; so it is possible that they might possess more than one such Prelate, and that the new consecration was performed by them.

[2] The Armenians seem to have had a singular facility in adapting themselves to the customs of other Churches, so far as to communicate with them.

Gabriel, knowing the fearful guilt which his predecessors had incurred by their simoniacal ordinations, not only refused to exact money for Orders, but refused the present which, after consecrations or ordinations, the recipients offered. We have a fair method of judging, in his case, of the yet flourishing condition, so far as respects numbers, of the Jacobite Communion. In his Episcopate of sixteen years, he consecrated fifty-three[1] Bishops.

At this time, it was attempted to introduce an important and most salutary change into the discipline of the Ethiopic Church. We have already observed that, in order to insure its dependence on that of Alexandria, the Metropolitan of Axum was not allowed to consecrate a greater number of Prelates than would raise the number of his Suffragans to seven in all: lest, if that Church should possess twelve Bishops, since so many were requisite for the consecration of a Patriarch, it might throw off all allegiance to the Mother Church. The practical inconvenience of this system we have frequently had occasion to observe: it gave rise to long periods of ecclesiastical anarchy, and engendered the most fearful abuses: it precluded the possibility of missionary exertion, and, in brief, has made the Ethiopian Church what it is.

Attempt to increase the number of Sees in Ethiopia.

The Emperor, influenced by these or similar considerations, endeavoured to induce Chail, the then Metropolitan, to consecrate a greater number of Prelates. The latter replied, that without the leave of the Patriarch of Alexandria, the thing, as being forbidden by the Canons, was impossible. The Emperor

Nicetas, governor of Philippopolis, informs us, that when that city was taken (A.D. 1189) by the Emperor Frederic, the Armenians did not follow the example of the Greeks, who had previously deserted it: but, in addition to remaining in it, communicated with the Germans. For, says he, both the one and the other observe many unorthodox practices, such as the rejection of images, and the employment of unleavened bread in the Holy Mysteries.

[1] In England, fifty-three Episcopal consecrations do not usually take place in less than forty years. Therefore, assuming the rate of mortality to be the same in the two cases, and it probably was at least not greater in that of Alexandria, the Jacobite Communion numbered, at this time, about sixty Prelates: the same conclusion to which we came in narrating the dispute between Cyril and his Suffragans.

dispatched a messenger to Egypt, charged with letters both for the Caliph and for Gabriel: in which he conjured the latter to give a permission so necessary for the welfare of the Ethiopian Church, and the former to use his authority in overcoming the scruples, if there should be any such, of the Patriarch. The Caliph directed Gabriel to comply with the request: the latter obstinately refused, and at length satisfied the Mahometan that to grant it would be the certain method of liberating Ethiopia from its dependence on Alexandria. Thus Gabriel lost the opportunity of rivalling S. Frumentius as a benefactor to that distant province; and thus ignorance and heresy were riveted in its unfortunate people. With every cause, therefore, to execrate the tyranny of this Prelate, his memory is, nevertheless, by the Ethiopians, celebrated as that of a Saint.[1] As a proof how little dependence is, as a general rule, to be placed on Jacobite miracles, we may mention that supernatural judgments are said to have befallen the Monarch who endeavoured to obtain a larger number of Prelates for his people, and only to have been removed on the expression of his sorrow to the Patriarch, whose dignity he had thus presumed to infringe.

Canons of Gabriel.

The Thirty Canons of Gabriel-ben-Tarik form part of the Canon Law of the Copts. We will quote the most remarkable. The First forbids Simony. The Fourth forbids ecclesiastics of all degrees to frequent games or dances. The Sixth, excommunication for the obtaining a debt. The Tenth, the celebration of Matrimony in Lent, or during the Paschal Joy. The Twelfth, the custom, prevalent in Upper Egypt, of employing the wedding day in dances and games, and postponing the Liturgy till the evening. The Thirteenth forbids the offering of prayer for the dead on Sunday. The Sixteenth, the administration of Baptism during public Service. The Eighteenth, burial in churches. The Nineteenth forbids Circumcision after Baptism. The Twenty-fourth enjoins Priests to have no women resident in their houses except their wives, mothers, sisters, aunts, or grandmothers.[2]

[1] Ludolph, 431. Renaud. 513.

[2] A Treatise "de Hæreditate," by Gabriel, Patriarch of Alexandria, is preserved in the Vatican, and is probably to be referred to this Patriarch. Asseman. B. O. i. 619.

On the death of Gabriel, four months elapsed before the usual Synod for the election of a successor was held at Misra. As the easiest method of composing the customary disputes, recourse was had to the decision of lots: the names of three candidates were inscribed, each on a separate piece of parchment, and on a fourth, as the custom was, that of JESUS CHRIST, the Good Shepherd. The successful candidate was Chail, surnamed Ben-Ulphak-dusi, a Monk of S. Macarius, distinguished for his regular life and accurate observance of the Monastic discipline, but so ignorant that he could not even read either Coptic or Arabic.[1] It was with great difficulty that he learned by heart the Liturgy, which it was necessary he should do before receiving ordination as a Priest. The pomp with which his public entry into Misra was attended surpassed that of any similar occasion within the memory of man. He had not been possessed of his dignity for more than three months, when a slow poison was administered to him by one of the Monks of S. Macarius, among whom, on account of the strictness of his discipline, he was not popular. He lingered for some time; but fell a victim to the treachery of his enemies within the first year of his Episcopate. He was succeeded by John, surnamed Abulfutah, one of his competitors.[2]

Death of *Gabriel II.*, April 5, 1146.

Chail V. Patr. lxxi A.D. 1146.

his ignorance.

Death of *Chail V.*, March 29, 1147.

John V. Patr. lxxii. A.D. 1147.

Eulogius, meanwhile, had in vain been expecting succour from the kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin II. had done nothing for the Egyptian Christians: his aged successor, Fulk, was unequal to a lengthened military expedition; and the youth of Baldwin III. forbade the hope of present assistance from him, or from his mother, Melesinda. Indeed, it appeared hardly likely that his kingdom could itself last. The various Christian powers of Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were jealous of each other; the Emperor of Constantinople was hostile to all; and the Infidels were ever ready to foment every discord, and to take advantage of every mistake. It was therefore with no small joy that the tidings of a second Crusade were received by Eulogius. The authority of Eugenius III. and the eloquence of S. Bernard were not excited in vain: Conrad of Germany and Louis of

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

[1] Marcus ben Zaraa, ap. Renaud. p. 514. Makrizi, § 473. Sollerius, p. 97*. Le Quien, ii. 485. Wansleb. p. 325. Alex. Catalog.

[2] Marcus ben Zaraa, ap. Renaud. 517. Le Quien, ii. 486. Sollerius, p. 97*. Wansleb. p. 325. Alex. Catal. Makrizi, § 474.

France hastened to the defence of the Sepulchre. But the army of Conrad, furnished, by the diabolical policy of Manuel of Constantinople, with treacherous guides, and attacked by the Sultan of Iconium, who was on a good understanding with the Emperor, in the deserts of Anatolia, was cut to pieces: of seventy thousand men-at-arms, and a countless multitude of followers, hardly the tenth part escaped. Louis was at the outset more fortunate: but a refusal to assist the schemes of Raymond of Antioch alienated that prince from the cause. Conrad and Louis finally met at Acre: the siege of Damascus was resolved on; and the city reduced to extremities, when, by treachery in the Latin Camp, the provisions of the besiegers failed, and they were obliged to retire. Louis celebrated Easter
A.D. 1149. at Jerusalem; and this was all the advantage derived from the Second Crusade. Its moral effects were deplorable: the Infidels learned to despise, the Christians lost confidence in, these mighty armaments; and the condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem grew daily more and more hopeless. Shortly after this period, Eulogius was succeeded by Sophronius, the second of that name.

SECTION XXII.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE FATIMIDE CALIPHATE.

Sophronius II. Patr. LX. Before A.D. 1166. A.M. 882. RODOWAN, weary of the insignificance of a private life, and considering his condition as only in name superior to that of a prisoner, made his escape, and suddenly appearing at Misra, put himself at the head of a discontented faction, and became master both of that city and of Cairo. Hafeth prudently kept within his palace; and shortly afterwards the turbulent Rodowan was slain in the sedition which he himself had excited. Hafeth did not long survive, and was succeeded by his son, Abu-Mansor,
A.D. 1149. more usually known by the name of Dafer.[1] The late Caliph had, since the abdication of Rodowan, dispensed with the services of a Vizir; but his successor, a youth in the eighteenth

[1] Joan. Cinnam. v. 7. Le Quien, ii. 487.

year of his age, and sensible of his own incapacity, promoted one of his father's favourites to that dignity.[1] A series of civil commotions ensued, various chiefs succeeding each other, by the law of the strongest, in the Vizirate; until at length one Abbas, descended from the family of one of the monarchs in the interior of Africa, raised himself by the murder of his predecessor to that office. An insult offered to a member of the family of Abbas by the unbridled licentiousness of Dafer, impelled the Vizir to the murder of the Caliph; and then, willing to conceal his own crime, he put to death two of the brothers of Dafer, as guilty of the slaughter of that prince. Fayez, a child of four years old, was raised by him to the Caliphate, and Abbas thus became possessed of the real authority. But some of the Mahometan chiefs, indignant at his crimes, headed a rebellion, and drove him to seek a refuge in Syria. The Christians had lately become masters of Ascalon; and the sister of Dafer wrote to the commander of that place, promising him a large reward if he would arrest the fugitive Vizir, and put him in her power. A party was ordered on this service; Abbas was seized; the gold and jewels which he had secreted fell into the hands of the Christians, and he himself being sent to Cairo, was tortured to death by the harem of Dafer.

Renewed contests for the Vizirate.

A.D. 1154.

The successor of Abbas in the Vizirate was Talahia, who had been summoned by the connexions of Dafer to avenge his death. Possessed, under the name of the infant Fayez, of the most ample authority, he was enabled to abuse it to a persecution of his Christian subjects. One of his actions is recorded with the greatest abhorrence by the historians. Matarea was noted for the best balsam in the world; and a fountain in the town, where the Blessed Virgin was said to have rested with the Infant Saviour, was supposed from that circumstance to have received the virtue of producing that treasure, and was known to the Mahometans as well as to the Christians. Near this place the Jacobites possessed a church, which derived its name from S. George: Talahia deprived them of it, and converted it into a mosque.

The Jacobite Communion was at this time agitated by a controversy on an Eucharistical question. It was found that in the

Eucharistical controversy.

[1] Marc. b. Zar. ap. Renaud. p. 519.

Confession of Faith which occurs in the conclusion of the Liturgy, and of which we have had previous occasion to speak, an addition had been made by some among the Monks. The word "life-giving" was added to the recognition that the Consecrated Elements became the Very Body of the SAVIOUR: and this epithet was judged unsound by the Bishop of Sebennytos, or Semnuda, who informed the Patriarch of the addition, and of his objection to it. John agreed with his Suffragan; but considered the subject of sufficient importance to warrant the convocation of a Synod; by which the disputed term was recognized as orthodox. In fact, the opposite opinion, if consistently held, would lead to Nestorianism, a heresy towards which, since the time of S. Cyril, it would be difficult to find another symptom of tendency in Egypt.[1]

Of the celebrated dispute concerning the abolition of Sacramental Confession which broke out under this Patriarch, we shall be able to speak more connectedly at a following period.

A.D. 1160. Fayez did not attain to manhood. Terrified in infancy by the sight of the corpses of his brothers, he was reduced to a state bordering on idiotcy. He was succeeded by Aded, a son of Hafeth: the eleventh and last of the Fatimides. To trace the various contests for the Vizirate would be equally tedious and unprofitable. Chauer, one of the candidates for the dignity, finding a competition too powerful for him, retired to Damascus, and implored the assistance of Nouraddin, Sultan of Aleppo, and the most powerful Chief of the East. This prince dispatched, at the Vizir's prayer, Chiracou, a Curd by nation, and one of his generals, together with his more famous nephew, Saladin, into Egypt. Chauer was thus restored to his dignity; but soon found a formidable rival in Chiracou. The latter was dismissed from Cairo; and his dismissal was the signal for the commencement of an anarchy throughout Egypt. Wives were torn from their husbands by the licentious soldiery, freemen sold for slaves, houses sacked, and every evil suffered which the lawlessness of barbarians could inflict. Among those who fell victims to this outbreak, Chenufa,[2] a monk of S. Macarius, had the honour, although a Jacobite, of laying down his life for CHRIST.

Aded, last Fatimide Caliph.

[1] Unless we receive as genuine the story related at p. 152, of the Melchite who denied that the WORD suffered. [2] Marc. b. Zar. ap. Renaud. p. 524.

Chauer, finding his own party the weaker, dispatched an embassy to Amaury, who had succeeded his brother, Baldwin III., as King of Jerusalem, requesting his assistance. Amaury marched into Egypt; and Chiracou, hearing of his approach, raised the siege of Cairo, which he had commenced, and retreated into the Thebais. The allied army of the Christian King and the Vizir pursued him; and at a place called Elbaum the two armies came to an engagement, in which both claimed the victory.[1] Chiracou, however, found it necessary to fly to Alexandria, whence, after having been besieged for some time by the allies, he made his escape to Cairo. Amaury had by this time become sensible that his own position was not very secure; it was not impossible that the contending Infidels might come to terms of agreement, in which case it was hardly probable that, at a distance from his capital, without any strong body of soldiers in that capital, and entirely separated from the rest of Christendom, he should be able to make good his retreat. He therefore smoothed the way to a general peace; and having received the stipulated price of his assistance, which was punctually paid by Chauer, he returned to Jerusalem: Chiracou receiving a sum of money on condition of retiring again into Syria.

Expedition of Amaury into Egypt.

A.D. 1168.

Before this time, John had been succeeded by Mark, the son of Zaraa.[2] It appears that during these tumults, Sophronius had retreated from Alexandria; at least we find him, in the year 1166, in company with Luke Chrysoberges, who then filled the Œcumenical Throne, and Athanasius, Greek Patriarch of Antioch, pronouncing the nuptial benediction over the Emperor Manuel and Maria, the daughter of Raymond, Prince of Antioch.

Death of *John V.*, April 29, 1164.

Mark III., Patr. lxxiii. A.D. 1164.

It will be better to finish the account of the political changes which were taking place in Egypt, before we speak of the great controversy by which the Jacobite Communion was agitated. Chiracou having returned into Syria, and King Amaury to Jerusalem, the counsellors of the latter suggested the advantages

[1] Wilken, iii. 83. Will. Tyr. xix. 7. Abulfeda, iii. 590.

[2] Here we trust ourselves to an unknown and very prolix continuer of Severus. Renaud. p. 580. Sollerius, p. 98*. Makrizi, § 475. Le Quien, ii. 487.

derivable from an attack on the tottering dynasty of the Fatimidæ. Torn as it was by intestine broils, their empire, it was urged, could offer no resistance; a successful expedition would inspirit the Christian soldiery; money, the best prop of a declining state, would be abundantly gained; and, finally, the empire of Christianity widened, and that of the Impostor of Mecca shaken. Persuaded by such arguments, Amaury again marched into Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta.[1] Chauer dispatched pressing intreaties for help to Nouraddin; and that monarch again sent Chiracou to the relief of the Vizir. In the meantime, Amaury had taken Damietta, and, in the very action, disgraced the Latin Church. There were many Christians in this city: it was the See of a Catholic Metropolitan, and of a Jacobite Bishop; but all, in common with the Mahometans, were put to the sword, or sold as slaves. Had the King now hastened forward on Cairo, it must have fallen into his hands; and,—to such important consequences do apparently trivial circumstances lead,—the Holy Sepulchre would perhaps never have been lost. But the Christian army, intoxicated with success, and probably suffering from the licence accompanying the sack of Damietta, consumed ten days in what might have been the march of one. Chauer, by this time certain that assistance could not be distant, resolved to defend Cairo to the last: the siege was formed; but the approach of Chiracou made it useless to Amaury to continue it. That Prince took the resolution of meeting the Syrian army: aware that if he could defeat it, the whole country must fall into his hands. At that moment the Church of Alexandria was nearer to liberty than it had been since the Saracenic conquest; but God had ordered it otherwise. Chiracou had too much prudence to risk a battle: he turned his adversary's army, and effected a junction with Chauer; and Amaury retreated into his own kingdom.

His second expedition,

and retreat.

Chiracou was magnificently received at Alexandria; but the success of his cause was the destruction of the Vizir. Chauer came out to pay his respects to the conqueror; Saladin, watching his opportunity, seized him, and ordered him to be detained as prisoner. The shadow of a Caliph, Aded, was easily persuaded

[1] Wilken, iii. 98. Will. Tyr. xix. 18.

to give orders for his death; and the head of the unfortunate Vizir was carried through the city on a pole. The populace, however, and native soldiery were indignant at the spectacle; and a sedition was on the point of breaking out, when Chiracou, with great presence of mind, exclaimed, that if Aded had given orders for the death of the Vizir, he had also given orders for the distribution of the Vizir's treasure to the people. As matter of course, the rioters hastened to the house of the murdered man, and Chiracou quietly received the investiture of his dignity. This office, however, he only joined two months; and, dying of a debauch, was succeeded in the Vizirate by his nephew Saladin.

Death of Chauer.

Chiracou;

and then Saladin, Vizir.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

BOOK V

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF SALADIN AS VIZIR,

A.D. 1169,

TO

THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE,

A.D. 1490.

Ἐστι μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα πολύτροπα πώεα ποίμνης
Ταύτης οὐ γεγαῶτα μιῆς θεοδέγμονος αὐλῆς
Ἀλλογενῆ· καὶ ταῦτα πέλει χρέος ὡς κεν ἀγείρω
Φθογγῆς Ἡμετέρης ἀριήκοα· καὶ μία ποίμνη
Ἔσσεται ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἑνὸς τελέθουσα νομῆος.

Nonnus, in S. Joan. x. 16.

SECTION I.

SALADIN VIZIR.

THE new Vizir of Egypt, who was to be GOD's instrument in working a mighty change in the East, and His Minister of Vengeance in chastising the sins of the Crusaders, and the ambition and worldliness of the Monarchs of Jerusalem, was, as we have seen, by birth a Curd. This hardy nation, deriving their descent, as by corruption, their names from the ancient Gordyæi, had never been subjected to foreign dominion. The rocky and inaccessible character of their land, and their own valour, secured their liberty, and together with liberty impressed upon them a peculiarly savage and inflexible disposition. Many of the youths were purchased by the Sultans of Damascus, for the purpose of forming their life-guard: and like the Prætorian Cohort, these household troops were often accessory to a change of dynasty. Saladin Vizir. Nation

The family of Saladin was in no way distinguished: though after he had raised himself to the honours of Sultan, there were not wanting flatterers to derive it from the line of the Ommiadæ. His original name was Yuceph or Joseph. He attached himself to the fortunes of his uncle Chiracou, by whom he was loved as a son: and having thus, as we have seen, followed him into Egypt, appears to have given the first earnest of his future prowess at the siege of Alexandria. On the death of his uncle, although there were many Emirs in the army, the superiors of Saladin, both in age and dignity, the latter was raised to the Vizirate, but with no friendly intent: his comparative youth, for he was but in the thirty-third year of his age, and inexperience, marked him out to Aded, who had by sad experience learned to tremble at his Vizirs, as an officer who would be easily governed, or as easily destroyed. Saladin's first care was to conciliate the envy of the Emirs to whom he had been preferred, and this, with one exception, he accomplished. His next was to send intelligence of his elevation to Nouraddin, who received the news and family of Saladin.

with joy, and that on two accounts: both because he trusted thus to obtain authority, or at least influence, in Egypt, and because, himself owning the spiritual authority of the Abbaside Caliph at Bagdad, he viewed the Fatimide Caliph of Cairo as a heretic, and was eager for his destruction. Saladin, by distributing the vast treasures which his uncle had amassed, soon attained considerable popularity: he corrected his hitherto intemperate habits, and as a kind of expiation for former sins, vowed future war against the Christians. Nouraddin soon became jealous of his former general: and it was not without
A.D. 1169. difficulty that the latter obtained leave for his brothers to quit Syria, and to fix themselves in Egypt. Damietta was besieged by the Christians: Ascalon by Saladin: but no important advantage was gained by either.

Termination Fatimide Dynasty. Nouraddin had been urgent with the Vizir to abolish in the Egyptian Mosques the prayer for Aded, as Fatimide Caliph, and to substitute that for Mustadi, the thirty-third Abbaside Caliph. Saladin was unwilling to peril his newly acquired authority by any sudden change: but at length unable with any
A.D. 1171. shew of reason, to resist longer, he took advantage of the illness of Aded, and caused the required alteration to be made. That Prince shortly afterwards expired, without having been informed of the indignity to which he had been exposed,[1] and Saladin peaceably succeeded to his authority, although contenting himself with the title of Sultan, and receiving investiture from the Caliph of Bagdad. Seizing the treasure which the Fatimides had hoarded in succeeding generations, Saladin wisely distri-
Saladin Sultan. buted it, and thus while removing temptations from the avarice of those who might be his rivals for the Crown, strengthened his influence among his dependents. The account of those treasures seems more fitting for romance, than for history: we read of precious vessels of gold, silver, crystal, and porcelain: of precious vestments, tapestries, and carpets; of an emerald a palm and a half in length: of a pearl the size of a pigeon's egg: and, which seems yet more wonderful, of a library containing

[1] It would be beyond the purpose of this history to inquire whether the death of Aded was natural, or whether Saladin was guilty, as William of Tyre says, (Lib. xx. cap. 12. Renaud. p. 535,) of his murder. We are only so far concerned with Saladin as he is concerned with the Egyptian Church.

one hundred thousand volumes. Among these were commentators on the Koran, and writers on the unwritten traditions of the Mahometans; the works of Lawyers, Critics, Grammarians, Poets, Historians, Mathematicians, and Physicians: in each and all of which Mahometan literature was fruitful. These volumes were distributed among the most learned Egyptians of the day: the Sultan probably calculating that their pens might be no less powerful defenders of his title, than the swords of his less cultivated subjects.

SECTION II.

THE GREAT CONFESSIONAL CONTROVERSY.

A DISPUTE, meanwhile, had sprung up in the Jacobite Communion, which threatened, by dissolving its connexion with Antioch, to shake it to the very foundation.[1] It is not necessary to prove that auricular Confession to a Priest, at first voluntary, afterwards compulsory, had been in use from the very earliest times. The testimonies of the Apostolic Constitutions,[2] of Origen,[3] Tertullian,[4] S. Cyprian, S. Ambrose,[5] Lactantius,[6] S. Optatus, S. Basil,[7] S. Jerome,[8] amply speak to the practice of the first four centuries. S. Chrysostom,[9] Anastasius Sinaita,[10] S. Theodore Studites,[11] Joannes Chinacus,[12] Cresconius, S. Victor Vitensis, will carry on the chain of evidence for the Eastern and African

Auricular confession in use from the earliest times.

[1] The following Section involves one of the most obscure parts of Alexandrian History. It is derived from a comparison of Renaudot, p. 500—553: Wansleb. 135—137: Le Quien, ii. 487, and 1390: Dionysius Bar-salibi, ap. Asseman, B. O. ii. 171: Michael Magnus, B. O. ii. 156: Chron. Patriarch. Jacob. B.O. ii. 367: Sollerius, Appendix ad Patriarch. Jacob. p. 144*, from the letters of Bernati: Schelstrate, Concil. Antiochen. 231—308: Makrizi, § 476. Jac. de Vitry, Hist. Hieros. 75. Ludolf, 3, lv. 4.

[2] Constitut. Apostol. ii. 33.

[3] Hom. ii. in Psalm xxxvii.

[4] De Pœnitent. Lib. iii.

[5] De Pœnitent. ii. 2.

[6] Instit. Divin. iv. 30.

[7] Regal. Brev. Q. 229.

[8] Ep. i. ad Helvid.

[9] Hom. xi. in iii. Cap. S. Matth.

[10] Serm. de S. Synax, in auct. Gr. Patr. Combefis.

[11] In Vit. S. Platon. cap. i. Ap. 4. Bolland.

[12] Scal. Parad. Grad. 4.

Churches: S. Leo I., S. Gregory the Great, V. Bede,[1] Egbert of York, and Alcuin, for the Western.[2]

Controversy on Ecclesiastical Confession.

We have already had occasion to observe that the Penitential Canons had, in consequence of the complete subjection of the Jacobite Church to the Infidels, greatly fallen into disuse. The most heinous offenders were received without penance: apostates, on professing a wish to return, seem to have been, in many instances, at once admitted to full Communion: and discipline was well nigh at an end. Corrupted in practice, the Penitential Canons soon became corrupted in theory: until at length the power of binding and of loosing was, if not denied, at least slighted and neglected.

Abuses in the Coptic Church:

We have, in our Introduction, related the various steps by which a belief was introduced into the Coptic Church, that the burning of the Incense at the commencement of the Liturgy was, in some mysterious manner, connected with the remission of sins which the people then privately confessed. Gradually, the rite was considered to convey Sacramental Absolution; and by a natural deduction from false premises, confession in a private house before a lighted censer, was elevated to the same dignity: and the office of the Priest was disused as superfluous. This practice was probably at first confined to the more ignorant Copts; gradually it seems to have extended itself to others, and

authorized by John V:

finally was authorized by John V. Ebnassal gives a reason for the suppression of confession, in which there probably was much truth. The character of the Priests, he says, was so notoriously bad, that more harm than good arose from the ancient practice: and he illustrates his meaning in a manner, that, if taken literally, is heretical. Confession, says he, is spiritual medicine. Now, as temporal medicine, to be of use, must be administered by a wise and good physician, so must spiritual also.[3]

opposed by Mark ben-Kunbar,

This absurd novelty was not unopposed. Mark, the son of Kunbar, an ecclesiastic of remarkable powers, who had been ordained Priest by the Bishop of Damietta, preached earnestly and popularly the necessity of Priestly absolution. The innovators immediately attacked his private character. He had been married, they said: but, anxious to obtain the Priesthood, had

[1] Hist. v. 14.
[2] Will. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. iii.
[3] Asseman, B. O. ii. 307, note 2.

persuaded his wife to remarry some other person, professing herself single. John was, of course, only too happy to avail himself of this tale for the purpose of excommunicating Mark. who is excommunicated,

The excommunicated Priest shewed, by his deeds, his contempt of the censure: he began publicly to expound Holy Scripture, and his expositions attracted, by their learning and eloquence, a large and attentive auditory. He dwelt especially on the absolute necessity of Auricular Confession, and Sacerdotal Absolution: the latter he affirmed to be essential to the Remission of Sin. He exposed the folly of imagining that Confession in the presence of a burning censer, a practice entirely unknown to all antiquity, could be of more avail than secret confession under any other circumstances, or with any other adjuncts. The consequence was, that multitudes flocked to confess to him, and he gave, in spite of his excommunication, penance and absolution. but persists in preaching the true doctrine,

The contrast is singular, if we compare this popular movement in favour of Confession, and the popular outburst in the German Reformation against it. Indeed, the spectacle of the abandonment of this practice by the Prelates, while it was insisted on by the Faithful, of the Church, is probably unparalleled in Ecclesiastical History.

But Mark did not allow his remonstrances to rest here. He inveighed against the practice of Circumcision, (which as we have seen, the Patriarch still allowed, provided that it preceded Baptism,) as a relic of Judaism, as contrary to the Apostolic precepts, and the consent of all antiquity. It was this doctrine which is said, more than any other, to have embittered against its author the mind of the Patriarch, and to have procured his excommunication. and opposes circumcision.

On the accession of Mark, the Bishops of Upper Egypt, where the son of Kunbar principally resided, wrote to the Patriarch, informing him of the success which attended the doctrines which he preached, and of the multitudes who flocked to confess to, and to be absolved by him. Mark was summoned by the Patriarch to Cairo, and obeyed the summons. He is said to have thrown himself at the feet of the latter, to have confessed his error, and to have promised amendment for the future. If he entered into such an engagement,—and that he did, we have A.D. 1174. His compelled submission:

only the assertion of his enemies,—on his return among his own people, he speedily violated it: he soon began again to deliver his exhortations on the necessity of Confession, and was followed by a greater number of disciples than before. To such a pitch did their enthusiasm in his favour arise, that they brought him money and other presents, which he distributed to the poor, and some even went so far as to offer him their tithes and first-fruits. The Patriarch Mark, informed of the popular favour which attended him, sent a synodal letter to all his Suffragans: and the unanimous voice of the Prelates, eager to pander, by the maintenance of the novel corruption, to their head, was in favour of the deposition and excommunication of the obnoxious Priest. Indeed there are grounds for believing that a Synod of sixty Bishops was actually assembled, and decided against him. The latter, thus driven to desperation, applied to the Mahometan power, and drawing up a memorial in which he affirmed, which was true, that he had preached nothing contrary to Canonical authority, and the discipline of the Fathers, he demanded a fair and Canonical trial. The authorities approved of the proposition, and required the Patriarch to act upon it: but, knowing the weakness of his cause, he refused to obey, and in the meantime seems to have desisted from the persecution of his opponent. In the whole of this contest, one of the most vigorous supporters of innovation was Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta: and it is worthy of notice, that now for the first time we find any of the Jacobite Prelates dignified with this title. He wrote a short treatise on the subject, which still exists, and than the arguments of which nothing can well be weaker.

he again recants:

appeals to the Mahometans,

and to Michael I. of Antioch,

Both parties, however, appealed to Michael I., surnamed the Great, who then filled the Jacobite Chair of Antioch. The innovators, it would seem, pre-occupied that Prelate's ear. Mark, they affirmed, was attached to the sentiments of the impure Massalians, and the opinion of Lemophtius[1]; and, as traces of this heresy still remained in Egypt, the accusations carried with it the appearance of probability. Michael fell into the snare. In his answer, he endeavoured to steer a middle

who condemns both parties.

[1] I. e. Lampetius, the notorious leader of the Egyptian Massalians. (S. Joan. Damascen. hær. 98.) Le Quien, ii. 1390. This is surely much

course between the contending parties. The one, he said, depreciated, the other exaggerated the importance of Confession; but the whole tone of his reply was favourable to the Patriarch. The Syrian writers naturally followed their ecclesiastical superior; and the account which Gregory Bar-Hebræus has left of the transaction, proves how much he was prejudiced against Mark, the son of Kunbar. Nevertheless, as the real designs of the innovators were made more manifest, Michael declared more decidedly against them; and a temporary schism between Antioch and Alexandria was the consequence. Michael, and Dionysius Bar-salibi, Metropolitan of Amida, one of his most learned Suffragans, composed works on the necessity of Confession, which are still extant. He, it appears, had been possessed with the idea, that Mark the son of Kunbar was a Massalian heretic, and he therefore condemned him and his tenets.

These dissensions led many to lose their affection for the Communion of the Jacobites: and finally, Mark himself, finding that no attention was paid to his remonstrances, that the practice against which he declaimed was upheld by the authority of the Alexandrian Patriarch, and that the influence of Michael of Antioch was not sufficient for its re-establishment, himself joined the Catholics. It would have been, humanly speaking, to the great advantage of the Church, if a man possessing such influence, energy, talents, and popularity, could have been retained in its pale. But Sophronius was probably indulging himself in literary retirement at Constantinople; the new convert found no leading authority to steady his mind; and before long, he was dissatisfied with the step he had taken, and resolved to reconcile himself to the Jacobite Communion. He received absolution from Mark, and for some time persevered in his apostasy: at length, whether convinced by the arguments of the Catholics whom he had left, or influenced by his first grounds of dissatisfaction, he returned to the Melchite Communion. But he could not, even now, be contented: and again applied to Mark for absolution and reception into the body over which he presided. The Patriarch this time refused to

Mark joins the Catholic Church:

returns to the Jacobites:

again joins the Catholics.

better than Asseman's conjecture that the Anthropomorphites are intended. The Anthropomorphites seem utterly out of place; whereas the doctrine of Mark on Confession might easily have been misrepresented as countenancing those of Lampetius on original sin.

admit him; and of the future fate of this extraordinary man we hear nothing. His example, however, drew many to the Catholic Church, who remained more consistent members of it than he, whose guidance they followed. There would also appear to have been a large body of his disciples, who, although they remained Jacobites, persevered in his sound doctrine on the subject of Confession. Nothing further is known of Mark, than that he survived the Patriarch nineteen years, and was followed, though not by equal numbers, to the last. Did materials exist for such a task, perhaps few more interesting lives could be written than that of the Egyptian Chillingworth, Mark, the son of Kunbar.

Final issue of the controversy.

We shall have occasion to refer to the various steps by which confession was restored in Egypt. At present, we need only observe, that its necessity is fully recognised by the Coptic Church, though negligently performed, and too often omitted. It is believed, however, that in the case of single persons, the state of minority (and therefore of presumed baptismal innocence) continues till the age of twenty-five; and that therefore, till then, confession is not needed. Consequently, Deacons below that age communicate without confession. But as, in case of marriage, minority is then supposed to terminate, confession is required before the celebration of that rite.

But the real definite mind of the Ethiopic Church seems never to have been fully expressed on the subject: its Priests are not agreed in stating its dogmas: and probably no statement could be made on the matter which would not find oppugners in that Communion. Nor, in a country where so much ignorance prevails, need we wonder that even so important a doctrine as that of Confession has never been up to this time canonically elucidated.

SECTION III.

SALADIN SULTAN.

Saladin Sultan.

It will now be our duty to narrate the proceedings of Saladin, so far as they throw light on, or are connected with, the Church whose fortunes we are relating. His affection to his

father Job, one of the virtues for which he is conspicuous, led him to invite the aged Chief into Egypt, where he enjoyed the post of President of the Treasury, and had a chief voice in all political discussions. Nouraddin at this time began to suspect somewhat of the gigantic designs of Saladin; and the advice of the various counsellors of the latter, as to the course of conduct to be pursued with respect to that Prince, who was reported to be marching into Egypt, were not satisfactory. Job, by his consummate art, averted the danger, and procured the adoption of a peaceable line of policy. Saladin gradually pursued his scheme of conquests. Tripoli, in Barbary, first A.D. 1172. fell before his generals: he then turned his arms against Nubia, and after that, against Arabia Felix; and at this time was freed A.D. 1173. by death from his powerful rival, Nouraddin.

His policy, with respect to his Christian subjects of Egypt, was more generous than that of his predecessors. Well nigh every civil office had been, from their superior ability and learning, in the hands of Christians or of Jews; and the Fatimide Caliphs, finding it easier to plunder these than their Mahometan subjects, were willing that they should have the opportunity of enriching themselves, in order that their wealth might sooner or later be confiscated to the privy purse. Saladin, who abhorred the meanness of this species of oppression, made both Christians and Jews incapable of public employment; and enforced the edicts which had obliged them to wear a dress differing from that of the Mahometans. He forbade the use of bells; he prohibited the Cross as the sign of a church, and the favourite procession on Palm Sundays: he directed that the churches should be painted black, and that the Divine offices should be celebrated in a low voice. Of these restrictions and injunctions grievous complaint was made: and some there were who, rather than resign their lucrative employments, apostatized to the Creed of the False Prophet. Under the new Sultan, Tranquillity of Egypt. the deepest tranquillity prevailed in every part of Egypt; taxes were lightened or removed; and wealth could be securely enjoyed. To better the condition of the Christians, and to fill the apostates with remorse, the edict forbidding them to hold any office under government was at length removed, and in a

short time, their numerical preponderance was as remarkable as it had been before.[1]

A.D. 1173. At this time, the Egyptian Christians were informed that an armament from Europe was hastening to their relief.[2] William II. King of Sicily, blockaded Alexandria by sea and land: but, whether through the incapacity of the leader or the faint-heartedness of the troops, the siege was shortly afterwards raised. Saladin had thus leisure to pursue his conquests, and successively made himself master of Damascus; laid siege to Aleppo; fortified Cairo; crushed a rebellion in the Thebais; and though he sustained a momentary check from the Christian forces of Palestine at Remla, he gradually extended his conquests in that kingdom, and, step by step, united in his own person the whole of the vast empire of Nouraddin, in addition to that of Egypt and Africa. It remained only that he should take Jerusalem, and thus rid himself of the handful of his deadliest enemies, established, as it were, in the very centre of his dominions. That unhappy kingdom tottered to its fall. Baldwin IV. was a leper, and incapable of carrying on the government of his kingdom; he was also jealous of the Count of Tripoli and the Prince of Antioch, imagining that they sought to deprive him of his crown. He determined therefore to strengthen himself by the marriage of his sister Sibyl, widow of the Marquis of Montferrat: but, instead of bestowing her hand on any of the powerful families of the kingdom, he married her, precipitately, and in an uncanonical season, to a young and undistinguished Frenchman, Guy de Lusignan. As if to provoke the anger of GOD to the utmost, and to tempt the vengeance of Saladin, Boemond of Antioch incurred excommunication by notorious adultery: and Arnold de Chatillon, lord of Carak, and the Templars by whom he was surrounded, perfidiously violated the truce made with the Mahometans, and made prizes of several rich caravans. Baldwin, sinking into the grave, learned by daily experience the incapacity of his brother-in-law, whom he had made regent, and declared the son of

Siege of Alexandria by William II. of Sicily.

A.D. 1174.

Declining state of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 540. xxi. 3. Boahedd. Vit. Salad. p. 41.
[2] Wilken, iii. 2, p. 159. Will. Tyr. Renaud. p. 540.

Sibyl, by her former husband, a child of five years old, and also named Baldwin, his heir. Guy de Lusignan, enraged at the slight thus put upon his capacity for government, fortified himself in his castle of Ascalon, and refused to own the new king: the regency of the kingdom was given to the Count of Tripoli. It was in vain that the Christians, seeing the extremity of their danger, dispatched the most pressing entreaties to the various states of Europe: it was in vain that Heraclius, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited France and England: fair words, good wishes, and abundant promises were the principal result of these endeavours. Arnold de Chatillon continued to provoke the vengeance of Saladin: the afflicted king of Jerusalem was called from the world, and was followed, in the next year, to the grave by the young monarch, Baldwin V. Guy de Lusignan was thus enabled to mount the throne; and had no sooner attained that aim of his ambition, than he called the Count of Tripoli to an account for his administration as regent. That prince made a separate league with Saladin, who was thus at liberty to give his full attention to the destruction of the fated kingdom of Jerusalem. Sibyl's entreaties, however, recalled the injured chief to a sense of his duty.

A.D. 1185. Perfidy of Arnold de Chatillon.

Saladin entered the Holy Land with an army of fifty thousand men; and having obtained an advantage over the Templars and Hospitallers, laid siege to Tiberias. Guy, and all the Christian princes rendezvoused near Acre, and marched against the Infidel. The battle lasted two days: on the second, overpowered by numbers, and worn out by heat, the Latin forces were entirely defeated: the King of Jerusalem, the Masters of the two orders, Arnold de Chatillon, and many others, were taken prisoners: and the True Cross, after the death of the Bishop of Acre, who carried it, fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. The conqueror used, for the most part, his prisoners with humanity: but Arnold de Chatillon retrieved his errors and crimes by martyrdom. One by one, the cities of Palestine opened their gates to Saladin; and, finally, Jerusalem was surrendered on honourable terms three months after the fatal battle of Tiberias.

A.D. 1187. Saladin in Palestine.

July 3, 4. Battle of Tiberias.

Loss of Jerusalem.

It was necessary to deviate from the strict course of Alexandrian history, because the expulsion of the Latins from Jeru-

salem was an event which, exercising the most powerful influence on the state of the Greek Church, influenced also that of Egypt: and because we shall find that the Crusades, general or partial, which after this period were poured forth from Western Christendom, and which would be unintelligible without some account of those which we have already noticed, were more nearly connected with Alexandria than the earlier efforts of a similar nature.

SECTION IV.

CATHOLIC AND JACOBITE SUCCESSIONS.

Catholic and Jacobite Successions.

Death of *Mark III.* Jan. 1, 1189.

John VI. Patr. lxxiv. A.D. 1189.

Alfter, Patr. LXI. A.D. 11. . ?

Elias, Patr. LXII. A.D. 11. . ?

Of Mark the son of Zaraa we know little, except his proceedings in the dispute on Eucharistical Confession. It is said, indeed, that the laxness of his discipline, and the splendour of his banquets, gave origin to great scandal.[1] His successor was named Abulmeged,[2] and is remarkable for having previously been a secular Priest. The purity of his life, his learning and eloquence, secured his preference over the regular ecclesiastics who were candidates for the same dignity. On his consecration, he assumed the name of John, and his first care was to dispatch a Bishop named Peter with the usual Synodal Epistle to Michael of Antioch. As that Prelate received it, we may imagine it to have been orthodox on the subject of Confession[3] among the Catholics. Sophronius II. was succeeded by a Bishop, whose name has been corrupted into Alfter; and he by Elias, of whom we know nothing further.[4] But we are again called to follow Saladin in his warlike career.

[1] Chron. Oriental.

[2] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 554. Sollerius, p. 98*. Makrizi, § 478. Wansleb. p. 325. Alex. Catalog. Le Quien, ii. 489.

[3] Asseman, B.O. ii. 568.

[4] Alfter is only known from the Cairo Catalogue: and Elias from Le Quien, who had inserted the name in his Adversaria, but was unable to discover whence he derived it. In a less careful scholar we might be forgiven for passing by the assertion.

SECTION V.

REIGN OF SALADIN.

Reign of Saladin.

The loss of the Sepulchre was received throughout Europe with a general burst of grief. Pope Urban III. died of sorrow the same month: Gregory, his short-lived successor, exerted himself to the utmost in exciting another Crusade: the kings of England and France, and the Emperor of Germany, prepared themselves to obey: in the realms of the two former, the land was tithed for the expedition: Bishops, Counts, and Barons emulously received the Cross. Guy de Lusignan sought an asylum at Tyre, now almost the only place of importance remaining to the Christians; the Marquis of Montferrat, its selfish lord, refused to receive the fallen monarch within his domain, but furnished him with troops, with which he recommended him to attempt some enterprise: and Guy, rather from the desire of doing something than from any hope of success, sat down before Acre. The attempt appeared to Saladin so preposterous, that he would not give himself the trouble of crushing it in the bud: fresh supplies, precursors of the great Crusade, poured in from the West: Saladin, in endeavouring to retrieve his error, received a signal defeat: his Egyptian fleet, indeed, brought some succour to the besieged but a second land attempt was equally unfortunate; and when the besiegers were joined by Philip Augustus, and, afterwards, by Richard of England, the fate of Acre was sealed. It was the only important conquest achieved by this great Crusade: and Saladin survived its loss little more than a year. In the terms of treaty which he had previously concluded with the Christians, Cæsarea, Joppa, and one or two other places of less importance were yielded to the latter: and their monarch soon learned to content himself with the humbler title of King of Acre. Saladin, venturing to attack Richard after the departure of Philip, with far superior forces, at Arsonf, received another signal defeat: and this was one of the last combats, if not the very

A.D. 1189. Siege of Acre by the Christians:

it is taken.

Death of Saladin.

last, in which the Sultan was engaged. He took up his abode
A.D. 1192. at Damascus, and there died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign.

His character. There can be little doubt that the virtues of this prince have been, by modern historians, greatly exaggerated. If he were temperate in his pleasures, liberal of his wealth, observant of the rites of his religion, it was not without treachery that he reached his usurped throne, without ingratitude that he possessed it, nor without blood that he maintained it. Ambitious beyond all measure, he sacrificed his relations and friends to his love of empire: he had no taste for learning, and wasted none of his patronage on the learned. The great merit of his character was its truth: and the faith with which he kept his plighted word, and observed the leagues into which he had entered, is sadly contrasted with the perfidiousness of the Christian chiefs by whom he was opposed.

He left fifteen, or as others will have it, seventeen sons. Of these, the eldest is known by the name of Melek Afdal: the second, by another wife, by that of Melek Aziz. The latter was named by his father Sultan of Egypt, the coast of Syria, and Jerusalem: the former of Damascus, and the rest of Syria: while Daher, a brother of Melek Aziz, had Aleppo for his share. The two elder brothers were speedily discontented with their portions: Aziz was desirous of Damascus and Aleppo, Afdal of Egypt: both were devoted to the pursuit of pleasure, and possessed of little besides nominal authority over their respective Emirs: the family of Saladin was disliked by the veteran, and the character of that family despised by all the soldiers. In the meantime, Adel, the brother of Saladin, exercised considerable authority: he possessed several towns and castles in Mesopotamia and Syria, and possessed some share of his brother's talents. By keeping his nephews in a state of equality, repressing the stronger, and assisting the weaker, he gradually became possessed of the real power: and on being invited into Egypt by
Aziz, Sultan the soldiery, administered the affairs of the kingdom, leaving, however, to Aziz, the title and the honour of Sultan. The latter, after expelling Afdal from Damascus, and bestowing it in fief on
A.D. 1197. a favourite of his powerful uncle, was killed, in the sixth year of his reign, by a fall from his horse. It happened that Adel was

absent in Syria: and as Almansor, the son of the late Sultan, was a child in the ninth year of his age, Afdal, the expelled Sultan of Damascus, was chosen by the Emirs as Regent. Hastening into Egypt, he collected an army with which, in conjunction with some forces of his brother Daher, he besieged Damascus: Adel threw himself into the town: but would probably have seen the end of his ambitious projects, had he not devised means of rendering the brothers personally odious to each other, and thus caused them to raise the siege at the very moment when it was about to be successful. Thus, set at liberty, Adel hastened to Cairo, and after governing a short time as Regent for Almansor, deposed him, and proclaimed himself Sultan.[1] A.D. 1197. Adel Sultan.

SECTION VI.

PATRIARCHATE OF MARK II.

We are not informed at what time the Catholic Patriarch Elias departed this life: his successor was Mark,[2] who was not an Alexandrian, and probably a member of the Church of Constantinople. We have already noticed the unhappy consequences that arose from the want of nationality displayed, on all occasions, by the Catholic Church of Alexandria. It was this, which, in all its struggles with the Jacobites, gave the latter that advantage which they constantly maintained: this, which from the days of Proterius to those of Cyril Lucar induced a spirit of desire for a more and more close intercourse with the Imperial City. The Patriarch applies to Theodore Balsamon. Mark II. Patr. LXIV. Before A.D. 1195. A.M. 911.

Mark, on his elevation, found several rites in use in the Church of Alexandria to which he had not been accustomed, and which he viewed with suspicion. Anxious to know in what light they would be viewed at Constantinople, he dispatched a letter

[1] This series of events will be found fully related by the continuer of Severus, (Renaud. p. 555—559.) Wilken, iv. 469. seq. Gibbon, xi. 149, seq.

[2] Le Quien, ii. 488.

filled with inquiries to Theodore Balsamon, requesting the satisfaction of his difficulties.

Replies of Balsamon to Mark.

Theodore Balsamon, one of the most learned of Oriental ritualists, who was at this time librarian of the church of S. Sophia, but afterwards raised to the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch, was distinguished by his comments on the Canons. These, although displaying a vast extent of learning, are full of the most ludicrous inaccuracies; as where their author gravely informs us that S. Sylvester was the first Bishop of Rome.

To this authority Mark applied for the resolution of his doubts. His first question was, whether the so-called Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark, which were found in the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem, might be received and employed? Theodore replies in the negative: "because," says he, "the Catholic Church of the most holy and œcumenical[1] Throne of Constantinople does in no sort acknowledge them. For all the Churches of GOD ought to follow the rites of New Rome, namely of Constantinople, and to celebrate the Liturgy according to the traditions of the great Doctors and Lights of the Church, S. Chrysostom, and S. Basil." It appears that on another occasion later than this,[2] Mark, about to celebrate the Liturgy in company with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and with Theodore, apparently then Patriarch of Antioch, (but resident at Constantinople, as was the then custom, Antioch being in the hands of the Latins,) was desirous of using the Liturgy of S. Mark, but was prevented by Balsamon, who furthermore extorted a promise from him that he would in future confine himself to the use of Constantinople. By another question, we learn that there were still some remains of the Monothelite heresy in Egypt: Mark describes its supporters, as the Oriental writers are accustomed to do, under the name of Maronites. Other rites, peculiar to Alexandria, such as the unction of the dead bodies of Bishops and Priests with chrism are mentioned by Mark, and forbidden by Balsamon. From this intercourse we may learn how completely Constantinople, with rites less primi-

[1] It is singular, that Balsamon, who in this place applies the title of œcumenical to the Church of Constantinople, should in another tell us that the then Bishops of Constantinople did not arrogate it to themselves. (Fl. 15,567.)

[2] Theod. Bals. *Com. in Can.* 32. *Conc. Trull.*

tive than any other of the Patriarchal Churches, gradually remodelled their traditions, and regulated their offices, by its own: and thus imitated the example of, or left a pattern to Rome.

SECTION VII.

AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

After the succession of Adel, and while Egypt was in a state of political tranquillity, the Jacobite Patriarch John received an embassy from the Court of Ethiopia, requesting him to ordain over them a new Metropolitan. Warned by the misfortunes which a hasty choice had entailed on his predecessors, the Patriarch determined to make a deliberate selection; and for this purpose sent to the principal monasteries, inquiring for an Ecclesiastic whose character and attainments seemed to point him out for the dignity. None such appeared, and the ambassadors, weary of the delay, presented to the Sultan another letter with which they had been furnished by their master, and accompanied it with presents, requesting him to interfere, and to compel John to make a speedy choice. Adel, to whom the character of the Metropolitan was an indifferent matter, complied with their request: and the Patriarch, thus compelled to expedition, and unable to find among the Monks any one who met his approval, cast his eyes on Kilus, Bishop of Fua, the ancient Metelis, and nominated him Metropolitan.[1]

Kilus, Abuna of Axum.

Kilus, on his entrance into Ethiopia, was met at a distance of

[1] Indeed, it does not seem clear that Kilus did not receive a second Episcopal consecration. Translations were almost unknown among the Egyptian Jacobites, (though frequent enough both among Catholics and Nestorians,) and the word used by the historians implies ordination. In this case, we must suppose that John, through ignorance, and totally unused to translations, actually conceived a second consecration necessary. At the same time, since several Eastern Churches, and more especially the Syrian, have a form of prayer for the translation of a Bishop to be a Metropolitan, our historian's use of the term ordination may simply refer to this. We may, however, observe that Job, Bishop of Rostoff, when made Patriarch of Moscow, was reconsecrated.

three days from Axum by the King, the Bishops, the Priests, and the army, and conducted with great pomp to his metropolitical abode, an umbrella of cloth of gold being held above his head. The particulars of this entry were detailed to our historian,[1] by one who had himself been an eye witness. Before he entered his palace, he celebrated, it would appear, the Liturgy, and the King and nobles assisted with great devotion. The country was suffering from a drought; and a fall of rain which occurred at the conclusion of the office, was regarded by the Ethiopians as a sign of GOD'S favour towards the new Metropolitan. On entering the Metropolitical palace, ten Priests were given to be his personal attendants: there were others who had the charge of his domestic concerns, of his library, and of the Sacred Vestments. He was frequently visited by the King, and received, as well from him as from the principal nobility, valuable presents, such as camels, mules, and all kind of necessary furniture. It is probable, that, in a worldly point of view, whether we regard public esteem, wealth, safety, ease, or influence among his people, the condition of the Metropolitan of Axum was superior to that of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

His return to Egypt:

For four years Kilus governed the Church of Ethiopia with honour to himself, and profit to his flock. At the end of that time, John was informed that the Metropolitan had returned into Egypt, and on his presenting himself, no long time after, at Cairo, he inquired why Kilus had thus deserted the Church over which he had been appointed. He replied that, on the solicitations of the Queen, he had in an evil hour consented to raise her brother Hetron, or Gedron, to the Episcopate, that the latter had immediately assumed the umbrella or baldachin, the use of which had hitherto been restrained to the Metropolitan alone; that, not content with this, he had alienated the Clergy from their rightful superior, had taken upon himself the administration of all affairs, reduced the Canonical Metropolitan to a state of contempt: and even attempted his life. "In short," he continued, "the City was an unsafe abode for me: with a few

his false account of his sufferings.

[1] This continuator of the work of Severus commences his account with the accession of Mark the son of Zaraa: and is remarkable for the prominence which he bestows on political events.

followers, I escaped to a country 'Cell' of the Metropolitan, and there dismissed the greater part of my retinue: with a hundred who still continued by me, I fled into Egypt, and my companions perished, by hunger and thirst, on the journey." The Patriarch requested Kilus to take up his abode at Misra, until he could inquire into the circumstances which had led to his flight: and for this purpose he dispatched a Priest named Moses, in whom he could place dependance, into Ethiopia; and a year was consumed in the mission. The reply of the King gave a version of the affair very different from that of the Metropolitan. Kilus, it asserted, had suspected the Treasurer of the Metropolitical Church of theft, in having purloined a golden staff of great value belonging to it. On the bare suspicion, he had caused the Priest to be seized, and scourged to death: and it was from the vengeance of the relations of the sufferer, who filled an important post, and had been Priests under his orders, that the Metropolitan had been forced to fly. The ambassadors who accompanied Moses were charged with presents for the Patriarch, among which was a crown of great value: to the Sultan they brought appropriate gifts, and among them a lion, an elephant, and a camelopard. Adel was then absent on a military expedition: but Kamel, his son and successor, was acting as Vizir, and to him the ambassadors were introduced. Much conversation took place between the Prince and the Ethiopians on the subject of the Emperor of that country, his wars and riches: and the request which they bore for a new Metropolitan was graciously received. John was commanded to consecrate another ecclesiastic to that dignity: Kilus was solemnly degraded, both from it, and from the Episcopal Office: and the concourse of both Christians and Mahometans to the spectacle was so great, that a saddled ass fetched three drachmæ for the day's hire. The new Prelate was Isaac, a Monk from the Laura of S. Antony: and he was received with great honour by the Ethiopian Monarch Lalibala, or the Lion, and his Queen, Mascal-Gabret, or the handmaid of the Cross. This Emperor, of the Zagean family, filled the throne with great reputation for forty years, and was after his death inscribed by his grateful people

His true history.

A.D. 1209. or 1210.*

* This date is confused by the continuer of Severus and Renaudot, pp. 562, 3.

in the Catalogue of the Saints.[1] He has been celebrated by an Ethiopian poet quoted by Ludolph, as "the builder of cunning temples in the dry rock, without moist clay." That is, he caused masses of rock to be carved out into churches, of which we shall have to speak further when we relate the Portuguese Mission into Ethiopia, and its effects.[2]

Devotion of Lalibala.

SECTION VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF NICHOLAS I. WITH ROME.

Correspondence of Nicholas I. with Rome. Nicholas I. Patr. LXIV. Circ. A.D. 1200. A.M. 916.

JOHN DE BRIENNE, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of the Queen Isabel and of Conrad, Marquis de Montferrat, had succeeded to the government of such part of the Holy Land as still remained to the Christians, under the title of King of Acre. Anxious to signalize the commencement of his reign by some renowned action, he undertook the siege of Damietta. He timed the adventure well. Adel was absent from Egypt, and Kamel had so small a force under his command, as to be obliged to content himself with securing Cairo, while the Crusaders ravaged the country up to the very gates of that city. According to their usual course, they plundered indiscriminately Mahometan and Christian, and a Melchite Monastery near Damietta was exposed to their ravages.[3]

John de Brienne attacks Damietta

Nicholas, the first of that name, was now Patriarch of Alexandria. It must be remembered that the state of the Greek Church was now as low as it well could be. Antioch had been in possession of the Latins many years: and the Greek Patriarch

Depressed state of the Oriental Church.

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaudot, p. 660. Le Quien, ii. 363.

[2] Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop. ii. 5, 1. In his Commentary he gives a (not very intelligible,) ground plan of such a church.—Alvarez, Cap. 49. Tellez. i. 27.

[3] This expedition is not mentioned by Western historians, not even by Oliverius, surnamed Scholasticus, in his Historia Damiatina, cap. vii. It is not clear whether De Brienne attacked Damietta on his way to Acre, where he arrived Sep. 13, 1209, (Chron. Autiss. s. a. 1209. Fleury xvi. 259,) or whether after his coronation, which took place on the Sunday following Michaelmas Day. Wilken (vi. 183,) knows nothing of this expedition. Renaud. p. 564.

of that City, however rightful his claims, possessed only a titular authority, and had usually resided at Constantinople. But Constantinople itself was now in the hands of the Crusaders, and the Patriarch was in residence at Nicæa, with the Greek Emperor. Jerusalem was, it is true, possessed by the Mahometans: but the influence of the Latins in the whole Patriarchate, was far superior to that of the Greeks: and the titular Latin Patriarch resided at Acre. Thus it appears that the See of Alexandria was the only Patriarchal Throne which, depressed as it was, remained nevertheless in anything like its original state: it was the prop of the Greek Church, and alone seemed to prove its existence. Whether Nicholas believed that the Power of Rome was irresistible, or whether he hoped to induce the Crusaders to regard him with favour, certain it is, that he took pains to cultivate the good graces of Innocent III., that mighty Pontiff, who raised the authority of S. Peter's Chair to its highest pitch. He wrote to Innocent, to request his interference on behalf of the Christian captives at Cairo and at Alexandria; imploring his good offices with the Templars and Hospitallers. The Pope replied favourably: and after praising Nicholas for "retaining, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, the savour of his devotion, as a lily among thorns, and seeking to console both himself, and those who were suffering captivity for the Name of CHRIST, by the comforts of the Holy Roman Church," he proceeds to inform him, that some of these prisoners were, nevertheless, guilty of the most heinous crimes; and that their guilt was sufficient not only to turn away GOD's Mercy from themselves, but also to bring Christianity into ill repute among the Infidels. The Pope, did not, however, cease to act for their benefit: and on the same day in which the above letter was written, he wrote another to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, his Legate, setting before him the danger of apostacy incurred by these captives, and desiring him to bring their case before the King, and the Masters of the two Military Orders.

Application of Nicholas I. to Innocent III.

A.D. 1212.

In reading this correspondence, the mind naturally recurs to that of the two Dionysii, the one of Rome, the other of Alexandria, both reckoned among the Saints; to that of Celestin with S. Cyril, or to that of S. Leo with S. Proterius. To find the Patriarch of Jerusalem acting on a general legantine commission,

and the Patriarch of Alexandria commended for his filial devotion to Rome, would have indeed astonished the Popes and Patriarchs of an earlier age.

We find, however, further communications between Innocent and Nicholas. It appears that at this time a Latin Deacon was resident in Egypt, from whom the Latin Captives were desirous of receiving the consolations of the Church. Nicholas, however, was unwilling to elevate him to the Priesthood, before requesting and obtaining[1] the leave of Innocent. The Pope, among those whom he summoned to attend the fourth Lateran Council, invited Nicholas: and the latter, though unable to attend, dispatched a Deacon named Germanus, as his Legate to that assembly.[2]

SECTION IX.

APOSTATE MONKS.

Apostate Monk.

THE latter years of the Jacobite Patriarch John were disturbed by an unfortunate rupture with the Government.[3] There was

Apostacy,

in the Monastery of S. Macarius a Monk, who, on some temptation apostatized; and gained a livelihood as a Government secretary. Touched with remorse, he presented himself before Kamel, Adel being still absent from Egypt, and requested his licence to re-embrace Christianity: protesting that, if it were not given him, he would suffer martyrdom, rather than remain an Apostate. Kamel, usually well disposed towards the Christians, made no difficulty in granting this request: and the Monk, returning to S. Macarius, there gave himself up to the

penitence,

practice of penitence. A Christian from the Thebais, who had also apostatized, hearing of the clemency which had been shewn in this instance, applied at Court for a similar permission. But the Sultan Adel was now returned: and far from granting the request of the second petitioner, was indignant that so fundamental a Canon of Mahometanism should have been violated in the case of the first. Finding that the latter had retired to his

[1] Innocent. Epp. 14, 146. [2] Innocent. Epp. 15, 34. [3] Renaud, p. 564.

monastery he dispatched a soldier thither, with orders to put the Monk to death, if he persisted in professing Christianity, but to spare his life, if he would again embrace Mahometanism. The wretched renegade not only apostatized a second time, but laid an information before the Government that the monastery to which he had belonged had a considerable quantity of gold and silver, which was concealed in a well, the situation of which he described, and where in fact the Sacred Vessels were preserved. A party of men, at the head of whom were some magistrates, were dispatched to possess themselves of the treasure. The Archimandrite assured them, that with the exception of a Chalice, a Paten, and a silken veil for the separation of the sanctuary, no treasures were possessed by his monastery. These were produced to the Commissioners: and by them taken to Cairo. By the intercession of Kamel, the property was, after a judicial examination, restored. The kindness of this Prince to the Christians was remarkable. The Patriarch was accused by another Monk of possessing concealed treasure; but the accuser was not allowed to bring forward his charge, and commanded to return to his monastery.

and second apostacy of a Monk.

by whom John is embroiled with the Government.

John did not long survive these events. He is said in the *Chronicon Orientale* to have abolished Confession, and recommended circumcision: we must therefore either imagine that the author inadvertently attributed to John what was done by Mark, or that the former renewed the decrees of his predecessor. We find this Patriarch commended in the Chronicle of Albert of Tres Fontaines: and a miracle is reported by the writer to have occurred during his celebration of the Holy Eucharist. This miracle was circulated to prove the superiority of the Latin over every other Liturgy. Albert de Tres Fontaines reports it to have happened to John, or, as he calls him, Jonas: but Innocent, in his first letter to Nicholas, hints at some miracle, as well known to both, which, if the same, could hardly have been reported to him to occur in the Jacobite Communion. His liberality is much commended by writers of his own sect; and the seventeen thousand golden pieces which he had acquired by trade were distributed by him in charity.[1] After the death of John, the Jacobite Throne remained vacant for twenty years.

Jan. 6. A.D. 1216.

[1] Sollerius, p. 98*.

SECTION X.

DISPUTES AMONG THE JACOBITES.

Disputes among the Jacobites.

THE funeral of John was remarkable for the circumstance, that it was attended only by one Prelate, and that a Melchite. This fact, taken in conjunction with the manner in which Innocent III. speaks of the Eucharistical Miracle, might almost lead us to imagine that John had reconciled himself to the Church before his death, could we find any other vestiges of such an event. The Synod held to determine the choice of a successor was distracted with even more than the usual party violence.[1] The principal candidates were Paul, David of Fayoum, and Abulkerim, Archdeacon of the celebrated church of Muhallaca. The party which supported the former were the most powerful; but so much opposition was offered to the election of their candidate, that Kamel, who was desirous of nominating another Patriarch, was induced to inquire into the matter, and inform himself as to the usual method of proceeding in a contested election. The appeal to the Heikeliet was named, and many were exceedingly desirous that it should be put in practice; but the faction of David, who still hoped to carry their point by main force, opposed, with all their might, the proposition. Their opponents asserted that David had been excommunicated by his Bishop for exciting disturbance in the Church of Fayoum, with respect to the Eucharistical controversy, and to other debated points; and a charge to that effect was attested by the subscriptions of twenty-two of the Clergy of Misra and Cairo. Another reason which was brought forward by them is at least curious: David was, they said, a native of the Thebais, while none could be elected to the Patriarchal Chair who had not been born in Lower Egypt. The fact might happen to be as stated; but a regulation so absurd could hardly have existed. A more solid reason alleged was that David had already been a candidate for the dignity of Metropolitan of Ethiopia, and had been refused

Protracted negociations for the election of a Patriarch.

[1] Makrizi, § 484, seq. Renaudot, p. 567.

with indignation by the late Patriarch. A month elapsed in various intrigues connected with the election; and, at its conclusion, the Bishops received a mandate from Court, requiring them to return to their several homes. As they imagined that so unusual an injunction had been procured by a secretary in the interest of David, four out of the five Bishops then in the city met before the altar of the church of S. Sergius, and there not only excommunicated David, but bound themselves with an oath never to lay their hands on him, as a disturber of the peace of the Church. Having united in this act, they separated to their several Dioceses.

The secretary, however, was not to be so baffled. He drew up the instrument of election, known by the name of Tazkeit, or Taklid, which we have previously explained, four copies of which were prepared by our historian, (who endeavours to excuse himself from being guilty of a fraud,) and respectively intended for the Bishops, the Priests, the principal persons among the laity, and the Monks; a fifth was also made ready for the Alexandrians. To this document the signatures of thirteen Bishops were obtained; among whom (and the fact speaks strongly to the degraded state of the Jacobite Communion,) were two of those who had excommunicated David at the Altar of S. Sergius. Forty Monks also subscribed the instrument, and a large body of Priests, both from Misra and from Lower Egypt. Nor were the laity averse from the proceeding; and the ambition of David seemed on the point of being gratified, when the illegality and iniquity of the proceedings were exposed to Adel by his physician, Abuchaker. Adel, on inquiry, found the charge to be true; and seemed desirous of referring the decision to lot. But the pertinacious secretary, by two false declarations, the one that the Heikeliet was opposed to the rites of the Coptic Church, the other, that it was in use among the Franks, or Western Church, succeeded in diverting Adel from his purpose. After an attempt to procure the election of another Monk, the business of election was, for the present, postponed. Adel did not long survive this controversy; but dying, after a reign of nearly twenty years, was succeeded by his son, Kamel, in Egypt, while Syria was divided among six of his other children. The year before this event, a Catholic, accused of

having spoken against the religion of Mahomet, was offered the choice of apostacy or martyrdom. He preferred the latter; and, after suffering gloriously, his body was committed to the flames; by which, it is the testimony of a Jacobite historian, it remained
A.D. 1218. untouched, and was then buried in the Melchite church of the place.[1]

SECTION XI.

SIEGE OF DAMIETTA.

But other events were now transacting in Egypt; to explain which it is necessary to call to mind the state of the Western Church.

Innocent III. The recovery of the Holy Sepulchre was one of the great projects of Innocent III.; and a special decree was made in the Great Lateran Council of 1215, on the subject. The rendezvous was fixed for the first of June, 1217; and Innocent exerted himself to procure peace among all Christian Princes, in order that they might be at liberty to turn their arms against the East. Called away from the government of the Western Church in the year succeeding the Council, Innocent found an
and Honorius III. able successor in Honorius III. This Prelate, on the day succeeding his consecration, wrote to the King of Jerusalem, to inform him that the death of his predecessor should not diminish the vigour with which the Crusade was pressed forward: he did not cease to excite the Bishops of France to renewed activity; and the peace concluded between Louis the Dauphin, and the young Henry III. of England, seemed to promise favourably
preach the Crusade. for the succours which each of these kingdoms might be expected to furnish. The King of Hungary, however, and the Duke of Austria were the only Princes who actually undertook the Crusade in the year which had been named by the Council. Rendezvousing at Cyprus, they sailed for Acre, where their arrival struck terror into the Sultan Adel, who was still alive, and in an equal degree animated the Latin Christians. The

[1] Renaudot, p. 561.

letter of the Grand Master of the Templars to the Pope was filled with the brightest prospects; and mentioned that it had been decided to attack the land of Babylon,—that is to say, Egypt,—by land and by sea, and to form the siege of Damietta. Honorius, on receiving these news, ordered a solemn procession from the church of S. John Lateran, to that of S. Mary the Greater, to beseech a blessing on the design entertained by the warriors of the Cross.

The winter, however, put an end to military operations; and the King of Hungary could not be persuaded to remain in the Holy Land longer than the three months to which his vow obliged; but, with the ensuing spring, the siege of Damietta was formed.[1] Those who commenced it were principally German Crusaders, who had been during the winter and part of the preceding summer, engaged against the Infidels in Portugal. They were followed by the Duke of Austria, and the Crusaders who had wintered in the East. No resistance was offered by the Infidels: the place was completely invested, and Honorius pressed all who had taken the Cross to lose no time in sharing the conquest of Egypt. The arrival of a Legate from the Pope was attended with unfortunate circumstances; John de Brienne had hitherto commanded the Christian army; but the Legate insisted, that he, as the representative of the Holy See, the principal promoter of the Crusade, had a right to that post. The death of Adel, which occurred in the September of this year, made no difference in military operations: Kamel continuing the same plans which his father had originated. Heart-burnings became rife among the Crusaders; complaints were carried before the Pope; but still the siege was pushed with vigour.

Siege of Damietta, May 29, 1218.

Damietta had been invested for fifteen months,[2] when the camp of the besiegers was honoured by the presence of an illustrious visitor. This was no other than S. Francis, who had

S. Francis in Egypt, A.D. 1219.

[1] The events of this siege are related by Wilken, vi. 183—289; Renaudot, p. 572; Oliverius, cap. vii.; Jacques de Vitry, p. 1141; S. Bonavent. Vit. S. Francisc. cap. xi.; Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 264.

[2] The siege was formed May 29, 1218: the battle which S. Francis predicted is said to have been that of August 29, 1219; it is therefore a singular inadvertence of Fleury, when he says (xvi. 461), "la ville fut prise ——après *neuf* mois de siège."

long been desirous of martyrdom, and thought that the intercourse which he might obtain with the Egyptian army might lead to the honour which he coveted. With eleven companions, he sailed from Ancona, and found that Kamel was about to make a desperate attempt to relieve the besieged. To one of his brethren, named Illuminatus, he expressed his assurance by revelation, that, if a battle were fought, the Christians would be defeated. "If," he continued, "I make this known, I shall pass for a madman; and if I do not, how shall I answer for the blood of those men who will perish through my silence?" Illuminatus exhorted him to be careless of the opinions of the army, and to relieve his conscience by making known the vision. Francis followed the advice of his companion: the Generals slighted his prediction; the battle was fought, and six thousand Christians perished, or were taken prisoners. Kamel had offered a besant of gold to any who should bring him the head of a Christian. Undaunted by the danger, S. Francis and Illuminatus determined to pass over into the camp of the Infidels; and, on their way thither, as they happened to meet two sheep, "Courage, brother," said S. Francis to his companion; "we are as sheep sent out into the midst of wolves." The pilgrims were seized by the advanced guard of the Egyptian army, bound, and insulted. Francis demanded to be taken before the Sultan, which was done. Kamel inquired by what authority the strangers had dared to present themselves in his camp? "By that," replied S. Francis, "of the Most High GOD, Who has sent us to shew to yourself and to your people the way of Salvation." Kamel who, as we have seen, was always favourably disposed to the Christians, admired the courage of the holy man, and invited him to pass a few days in his company. S. Francis replied that he would willingly do so, did the Sultan express any desire to be instructed in the truths of Christianity. "If," he continued, "you entertain any doubts as to the truth of the Gospel which we preach, let us decide the matter by an appeal to GOD. Cause a furnace to be heated, and let any of your priests, in company with myself, enter it. He, whose GOD protects him in the midst of the fire, shall be acknowledged as the teacher of the True Religion." Kamel, astonished at the offer, replied, that none of the Saracens would undergo such a test. "Let it

His challenge to the Sultan.

then be thus," said S. Francis: "give me your word, as a King, that you and your people will embrace Christianity, if I am preserved in the offer I am about to make, and I will venture upon it. Light the pile,—but light it for me alone; —I will enter into it. If I perish, impute it to my own sins: if I am preserved, acknowledge the truth of the Gospel." Kamel would not consent to this challenge, as he feared, he said, that it would occasion a sedition; but he loaded S. Francis with presents, which he rejected with contempt. The Sultan venerated the preacher for his disinterestedness, and retained him near his person for some time; but, at length, fearing that some of his followers might be persuaded to embrace Christianity, dismissed him with great honour, and with a request for his prayers, that GOD would lead him to know whether of the two religions was the more acceptable to Him.

He is dismissed with honour.

In the meantime the siege continued, and Kamel, anxious to preserve, yet unable to relieve Damietta, proposed the following terms: on the part of the Christians, that the siege should be raised; on his own part, the restoration of Jerusalem, of all the flat country, of all the Christian captives, of the True Cross, and of the fortresses in Palestine, except two, for which he offered to pay an annual tribute. He further offered the money necessary to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been demolished in this same year by his brother, the Sultan of Damascus. These offers strike us with astonishment, and to some of the Christian Chiefs they appeared very desirable; but those who were best acquainted with the character of their adversaries, were of opinion that they ought not to be accepted. As soon, they said, as the Army of the Cross should be disbanded, it would be easy to the Infidels to retake Jerusalem: Damietta was a place, which, could it once be gained, it would be easier to preserve.[1] This sentiment prevailed; but not with-

Kamel offers terms,

which are rejected.

[1] This Damietta, which rose from the ruins of the ancient Pelusium, and is at the present day the most flourishing city in Egypt, with the exception of Cairo, is distinguished by Le Quien from another Damietta, situated in the province of Arcadia, and formerly known by the name of Tamiatha. His distinction between the Bishops of the two Sees is anything, however, but clear, (ii. 531, 2, and 589, 90,) and perhaps in the darkness of Coptic history it would be difficult to obtain any clear information on the subject. It is certain, however, that there was a Melchite Archbishop, known by the name either of Pelusium or Damietta; but the celebrated Michael, whose

Damietta taken.

out exciting the displeasure of those who considered the terms of accommodation reasonable. The spirits of the besiegers began to flag: the Legate saw that success must come now, or would never come at all. A night attack was made, and with very little carnage the city was taken on the fifth of November, 1219.[1]

The length of the siege had not only filled houses and warehouses with corpses, but also bred infection in the place: and it was not till the Feast of the Purification in the following year, that solemn possession was taken of it by the Latin Church. Mass was said by the Legate, assisted by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and other Bishops: a metropolitical See established in the city: several churches built or restored, and the practice of the Mahometan religion forbidden. And this was the first act of open schism committed by Rome against Alexandria.[2]

A great number of captives were sold; but Jaques de Vitri, Bishop of Acre, from whom we derive the principal part of our

opposition to Eucharistical Confession we have already noticed, is made by Le Quien, Jacobite Metropolitan of Tamiatha.

[1] It is but just to mention the astonishing research of Professor Wilken's account of this siege; it is equally laborious and interesting.

[2] It is not our intention to dwell on the history of the Latin Patriarchs of Alexandria; — we will therefore throw a few particulars concerning them into a note. The first question is, whether a Latin Patriarch was consecrated when Damietta was taken at this time. The Bollandists, Tom. v. Jun. p. 105*, and the Lexicon Biblicum of Simon speak of a "S. Athanasius Claromontanus, pro Latinis, A.D. 1219." This Prelate is also mentioned by Daniel à V. M. in his *Speculum Carmelitanum*, ii. p. 353. as having been present at a certain Synod of thirty-six Syrian Bishops holden at Jerusalem in 1222. But there never was such a synod; and Le Quien believes that there never was such a Patriarch. We cannot agree with him in his reasoning that as Nicholas I. and Innocent III. had been on friendly terms, the former would be recognized as orthodox Patriarch by the Crusaders. They were not accustomed to reason so; —besides which, Nicholas was at Cairo, and very possibly quite unknown to the victorious army.

2. *Giles*, a Dominican Friar, translated from the (so called) Patriarchate of Grade to that of Alexandria, A.D. 1310, by Clement V. Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. v. 1214.

3. *Odo de Sala*, a Pisan by birth, and a Dominican. He was made Patriarch of Alexandria by John XXII., in 1322; and the same day was appointed administrator of Monte Cassino. This elevation was evidently intended simply to add dignity to the Roman Court. Ughelli ii. 1032. Fontana, Theat. Dominic. p. 44.

4. *John*, son of James II. of Aragon: he was raised to the Archbishopric

information as to the Siege of Damietta, humanely interested himself in buying up the infants, for the purpose of baptizing them. Five hundred died shortly after their Baptism: some were brought up by the friends of the Bishop. The city was given to John de Brienne, to become a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

SECTION XII.

INTRIGUES OF DAVID.

Intrigues of David.

We must now turn our attention to the affairs of the Jacobites. On the death of Abuchaker, who had been the principal opponent of the unprincipled David, Neschelkhelafet, the Secretary who had previously espoused the interests of the latter, besought the Sultan to summon another Synod, and to put an end to the affair.[1] The assembly was convened: more than a hundred of the principal Christians presented themselves at court on the appointed day: and a great number demanded David as Patri-

Assembly for election of a Patriarch

of Toledo at the age of seventeen, (A.D. 1318) and to the Patriarchate, A.D. 1328. He died in the odour of Sanctity, 1334. Raynald. 1329. LXXXIII. Wadding ad ann. 1331. No. ix.

5. *William de Chanac*, Bishop of Paris: created A.D. 1342; died A.D. 1348.

6. *Humbert*, Dauphin of Vienna: created Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 1351; perpetual administrator of Rheims, 1352: died 1355.

7. *Arnald de Montemajori*, created A.D.?—*elevated*(!) to a Cardinalate A.D. 1368: died of the plague at Vilesto, A.D. 1326. Oldoin. Hist. Rom. Pont. II. 566.

8. *John*, in 1372. Raynald. 1372. I.

9. *Peter de Brenaco*. Before 1388. Herrera, Alphab. August. II. 261.

10. *Peter Alexander*, A.D. 1400. Bremond, Bullar. II. 459.

11. *Leonardo Delphini*, Archbishop of Crete. Patriarch, A.D. 1401. Ughelli, Ital. Sac. v. 1354.

12. *Ugo de Robertis de Tripoli*. A.D. 1402. Id. v. 430.

13. *Simon de Cremeaux*, Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 1407.

14. *Caietan*, 1547.

This list, such as it is, is from Renaudot iii. 1143, and Sollerius, p. 105*. The inaccuracy of Simon may be learned from the following extract from his list. His sixty-eighth Patriarch is Gabriel. He means Gabriel VIII. the ninety-seventh Jacobite Patriarch. His sixty-ninth Cyril Lucar, the famous Melchite. His seventieth Caietan, a Latin intruder. So three (according to him) succeeding Prelates, belong to three distinct successions.

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 570.

arch. The instrument of election, with the unfairly obtained signatures was produced: and the ambitious candidate would have been successful, had not a Deacon of the church of Muhallaca been present, Abu-Aziz by name, who with another, exposed the intrigues of the faction. The uproar was great: the lot was again proposed, and again rejected: and a year was consumed in the vain endeavour to adjust matters. More than once the consecration of David appeared secure, the Sultan's confirmation having been affixed to the Deed: but it was revoked as often, when that Prince found that the objections of the opposite party remained in full force. The concourse of Priests at Cairo left the unhappy Communion of the Jacobites in distress for the consolations of the Church: in many churches the Liturgy was not celebrated on Palm-Sunday. The perpetual quarrels were too much for the usual good-nature of the Sultan: and finding that the late Patriarch had left the whole of his property to his sister, as his only heir, he allowed the Mahometan law to be put in force, by which women were prohibited from inheriting more than half the testator's property: and confiscated the rest to the privy purse.

Presumption of David.

David, finding that his wishes were not soon likely to be gratified, began to take upon himself something of the pomp and state of a Patriarch: and, attended by a large body of his friends, celebrated the Liturgy in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. He was interrupted by the violent entrance of several of the opposite faction, whose outcries and tumult could not, however, prevent his finishing the office. This action caused great scandal: and the woeful condition of the Christians was made yet still more deplorable, by the siege of Damietta. The Melchites, however, fared the worse; as they were naturally suspected by the Mahometans of being far more anxious for the success of the Crusaders than the Jacobites, who were probably desirous rather to remain under that Mahometan rule by which their sect had risen to power, than to meet with the treatment which heretics were sure to receive from the victorious Christians. Both Melchites and Jacobites were nevertheless compelled to assist in the works hastily raised for the defence of Cairo: they were commanded either to enlist in the army destined for the guard of the country, or to compound, by a sum of money, for

personal services. The prefect of Old Cairo summoned all the Priests of whatever Communion, and desired them immediately to repair to the camp at Damietta, informing them, at the same time, by way of more completely terrifying them, that they would probably be put to death by the soldiery. The Melchites promised four thousand pounds,—the Jacobites,—who at Cairo were by far the more influential body,—were taxed at twenty, of which, however, they only raised six, thousand. Misery of the Egyptian Christians.

The army which marched to the relief of Damietta, destroyed, out of revenge, all the churches by which they passed: and, as they were rather a confused collection of rabble than an orderly military array, the evils which they inflicted on the unhappy country were comparatively greater. The church of S. Mark, in the suburbs of Alexandria, was levelled with the ground, the Mahometans being apprehensive that the Crusaders might use it as a convenient fortress in attacking the city. The blow which the Christians in that city now received, seems never to have been recovered.

Damietta being fairly possessed by the Latins, and a protracted state of war being the necessary result, the tributes under which the Egyptian Christians groaned, were increased; provisions were dear: many families were reduced to beggary, and some individuals, unable to bear their misery, were tempted to commit suicide. A fresh attempt at an election to the Jacobite Throne, under these circumstances, was, as it was likely to be, unsuccessful. A.D. 1220.

SECTION XIII.

LOSS OF DAMIETTA.

The capture of Damietta, instead of inciting the Crusaders to thankfulness, unanimity, and discipline, was followed by an universal dissoluteness of morals, and contempt of the laws both of God and man. The accounts which Jacques de Vitri gives in a letter to Pope Honorius shortly after Easter, contain a frightful picture of the state of the city. The king of Jerusalem and the Loss of Damietta.

Wretched state of the Latins in Damietta.

Grand Master of the Templars had returned to Palestine; the Patriarch of Jerusalem had followed their example; the French knights had retired: and those of the Crusaders who remained were reduced to the greatest poverty, and almost all of them subsisted on alms. Three thousand had already been made prisoners by the Mussulmans, who lost no opportunity of seizing on those who incautiously ventured beyond the walls: some had even deserted and apostatized, and these were upbraided by their new masters with being as bad Turks as they had formerly been worthless Christians. But these calamities had in some degree induced a reformation of morals: games of chance were prohibited; abandoned women driven from the city; and a board of commissioners, consisting of a Marshal and twelve assistants, appointed by the Legate for the punishment of offenders.

The conquests of Zengis Khan are alluded to by the Bishop of Acre, as giving grounds to hope for the subversion of the Mahometan Empire: a hope which he proceeds to confirm by certain astrological predictions in vogue among the Egyptians, and by an apocryphal book of prophecies, called the Revelations of S. Peter, brought forward by some Oriental Christians.

But the real hopes of the Latins for the preservation of Damietta and of their other conquests lay in the Emperor Frederick, who had taken the Cross, but was in no hurry to fulfil his vow. The Pope exerted himself to procure reinforcements for the Christians in Damietta: and pressed the importance of speedy assistance on the Bishops of France, Italy, and Germany. Had Kamel been able to march against Damietta with a powerful body of troops, the immediate fall of the city must probably have been the consequence: but as his condition, if superior to that of his enemies, was sufficiently weak, the Crusaders might have held their conquest till new succours reached them, had it not been for their own impatience and imprudence. The Legate Pelagius, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, finding that the number of soldiers in the city was considerably increased by the small reinforcements which occasionally arrived, requested the return of John de Brienne in such urgent terms, that that monarch was obliged to comply. It was then resolved to march upon Cairo, the army being victualled for two months. Arrived at a place, equally distant from the two cities, where the Nile divides

Christians advance on Cairo:

itself into three branches, they made themselves masters of a bridge of boats connecting the two banks. Kamel had collected a large army from his own dominions, and by the assistance of his brothers, from Syria: but dreading the numbers and the superior discipline of the Christians, he judged it prudent not to offer battle. The Crusaders encamped on the low ground near the river: Kamel interposed himself between their army and Damietta, and cut off all their supplies. Provisions began to fail: and to add to the distress of the Christian army, the time for the rise of the Nile came on. The infidels had taken care to choose such ground as should not expose them to inconvenience: but the Latins were surrounded by the inundation, and the very ground on which they were encamped was changed into a treacherous quagmire. Under these circumstances nothing remained but to come to terms: and it shews the good disposition of Kamel that he insisted on no harder conditions. On the one hand, it was made an indispensable point that Damietta should be evacuated: but in return for this, the Christian army was to have free passage to Acre: the captives were to be freed: a truce of eight years to be concluded: and the True Cross to be restored: the latter a matter of the less importance, inasmuch as it was greatly suspected that that part of it which the Mahometans possessed had been destroyed by them.[1]

and are compelled to capitulate.

Loss of Damietta.

Thus Damietta again fell into the hands of the Infidels: to the joy, doubtless, of the Jacobites: but how much grief the event caused to the Melchites may be understood from the following letter, addressed, after the surrender which took place on the eighth day of September, by Nicholas to Pope Honorius. And it must be remembered, that considering the dishonour inflicted on the Church of Alexandria by the erection of a Latin Archbishopric within its Diœcese, this letter not only proves the deplorable condition of the Catholics, but their willingness to overlook the injuries received from, in their gratitude for the benefits conferred by, Rome. The epistle, as throwing light on the character of the Alexandrian Patriarch, shall be inserted whole.[2]

A.D. 1221.

[1] Wilken, vi. 334: the very interesting account of Oliverius, p. 1434 *seq.* Abulfeda, iv. 304.

[2] Raynald. 1220. Le Quien, ii. 490.

Letter of Nicholas I. to Honorius.

"To the Most Reverend Father and Lord, by Divine Grace, Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, and Universal Bishop, Nicholas, by the same Grace, humble Patriarch of the Alexandrian See, reverence, as prompt as due.

"The Archbishops, Bishops, Presbyters, Clerks, and Laics, and all the Christians which are in the land of Egypt, supplicate your paternity and sanctity with groans and tearful cries. If any Christian church, from any accident, happens to fall, we dare not rebuild it; and for these fourteen years past each Christian in Egypt is compelled to pay a tax of one bezant and fourteen karabbas: and if he be poor, he is committed to prison, and not set at liberty until he have paid the whole sum. There are so many Christians in this country, that the Sultan derives from them a yearly revenue of one hundred thousand golden bezants. What further shall I say when Christians are employed for every unfit and sordid work, and are even compelled to clean the streets of the city? It is well known, throughout the whole of Christendom, how shamefully Damietta hath been lost: and it is improper to trust that to letters, which to speak by word of mouth is most painful. Have pity, therefore, on us, our Lord and spiritual Father! As the Saints, before the Advent of CHRIST, longed for their redemption and liberation from our SAVIOUR, so we your children expect the coming of the Emperor; and not only we, but also more than ten thousand exiles, dispersed through the land of the Saracens. I must not omit, but rather press, what it will be the duty of our Lord and Emperor to do on his arrival. This is the way of salvation and health, and which will be free, by GOD's grace, from danger: let the ships and galleys, whatever their number may be, sail up the river Raseeti, and as far as the town which is situated in an island of that stream, called Foha: and thus, by the mercy of GOD, they will secure without loss the whole land of Egypt. The river is deep and broad: the island abounds with all necessaries; as the bearer of these presents, one in whom we have confidence, will be able to certify. We know him to be prudent and discreet, and have on that account sent him to you. Nor must I omit one of the greatest misfortunes which have befallen the Christians in Egypt; in consequence of the capture of Da-

mietta, one hundred and fifteen churches have been destroyed."

Such were the sentiments with which the Egyptian Catholics awaited the result of the efforts of Rome on their behalf. We cannot be surprised, however, considering the tenor of this correspondence, that Kamel and his government found it necessary to keep a strict watch over the motions of the Melchites, and suspected them of assisting, to the utmost of their ability, in any descent made by the Crusaders upon the coast of Egypt.

SECTION XIV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JACOBITES.

The internal dissensions among the Jacobites still continuing, Kamel convoked another Synod for the purpose of, if possible, putting an end to them: and, besides the usual attendants on such occasions, Nicholas was summoned also.[1] The result was the same with that of all similar meetings lately held: but the Sultan gave, shortly afterwards, a plain proof of his desire to deal fairly by his Christian subjects, and his strict integrity. Information had been given by some apostates, that in the Monastery of S. Macarius there were several persons, who were Monks only in name, for the purpose of avoiding the capitation tax, and thus, at the expense of the revenue, enriching themselves. An Emir was dispatched to inquire into the truth of the matter: and he, without any form of trial, seized several Monks, and put them to the torture, and by these means succeeded in obtaining from them four hundred pieces of gold, and a bond for two hundred more. With this sum he returned to Cairo, whither he was followed by a deputation from the Monks, to represent to Kamel the injuries they had received: the Sultan directed the money to be restored to them; and

A.D. 1226. Another attempt to elect a Patriarch.

Equity of Kamel:

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 573.

they, as a sign of gratitude, bore it about the city in solemn procession with lighted tapers.

His integrity was also evinced in another way. The friends of David offered him two thousand pieces of gold, if he would consent to his consecration: the Sultan fairly refused, and would only permit that the election should take place in the usual way. The two thousand pieces were increased to three, five, and at last to ten thousand; all which offers met with the same refusal.

his refusal of a bribe.

A.D. 1298. he visits the Monastery of S. Macarius,

A visit which he paid to the Monastery of S. Macarius was the occasion of the Sultan's increased munificence to the Monks. They entertained him and his train to their best ability, and he, in return, bestowed on them large stores of provisions, the most acceptable present to such a community. The whole consisted of three hundred and thirty quarters of corn, two hundred of meal, sixty of beans, and as many of pease.[1] He granted or confirmed several privileges: he exempted the Monks from tribute; he removed a Mahometan officer belonging to the treasury, who had hitherto had his abode in the monastery: and he granted to every Monk the power of leaving anything which he might possess to the religious house, free from all interference of the Government. The Monks bitterly complained of their want of a Patriarch: eighty Priests, they said, had formerly been members of their community: these, by death, were reduced to four; and still there was none who could ordain others. This clearly shews that the Abbey of S. Macarius was *Patriarchal*, that is, exempt from Diocesan jurisdiction; and the occurrence is another proof of the miserable pertinacity with which the Egyptian Jacobites clung to the letter of the Canons, to the utter violation of their spirit. Kamel explained to them that the fault did not lie in himself: let the Christians, he said, make an unanimous choice; it should be his part to see it carried into execution, and no exaction, on any pretence, should be made from the new Patriarch.

and confirms and increases its privileges.

The following years were passed in a series of vain efforts to obtain a Patriarch. It is astonishing that the pertinacity

[1] That is, supposing the Alexandrian *ardeb* to have been then, what it is now, two-thirds of an English quarter.

and obstinacy of the Jacobites did not weary out the patience of Kamel. But they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; permitted, which the Melchites were not, to restore their churches, or to build new ones; and freed from the various badges which the tyranny of former Emirs and Sultans had inflicted on Christians, and which the Melchites were still compelled to continue.

A.D. 1235. Fraud practised on the Government under the name of the Monks.

Indeed, the liberty which they enjoyed soon became licence. So great a multitude of persons appeared in the monastic habit, that the officers of the treasury began to suspect collusion: and a careful inquiry being instituted, it soon appeared that many of these pretended Monks had assumed the dress that they might enjoy freedom from tribute. On this occasion, the true Monks suffered severely: upwards of a thousand pieces of gold were exacted from them; and in future it was ordered that the names of those who had really taken a religious vow should be entered in a book kept at Cairo for that purpose.[1]

Another synod. David-ben-Laklak is elected.

In the same year, the solicitations of David the son of Laklak, and his friends, were at length successful. The Sultan, wearied out with the continued contentions on the subject, and considering that any Patriarch was better than none, gave his consent to the consecration: and thus, after an intrigue of nearly twenty years, David gained the object of his ambition, and was consecrated Patriarch, assuming the popular name of Cyril.[2]

Cyril III. Patr. lxxv. A.D. 1235.

He was received by the Sultan, when paying the usual visit at Court, with great affability: and the procession which accompanied the Patriarch to the church in which he first celebrated the Liturgy pontifically, was conducted with unusual pomp. Complaints were made to the Sultan, that crosses had been carried past the mosques: and though Kamel neglected the complaint, Cyril found it prudent to remain for a few days in private.

Gregory I. Patr. LXV. circ. A.D. 1230. A.M. 946.

About the same time, Nicholas departed this life, and was succeeded by Gregory.[3]

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaudot, p. 576.

[2] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 576. Le Quien, ii. 492. Wansleb. p. 326. Sollerius, p. 99*. Alex. Catalog. Makrizi, § 476.

[3] This name is known only from the Cairo Catalogue.

In the meantime, the Crusade by no means kept progress with the anxious wishes of the late Patriarch, nor with the exertions of the Pope. The different Crusades in Prussia, in Spain, and against the Albigenses, distracted the strength, and divided the counsels of the Western Princes. Frederick, although he had long taken the Cross, delayed, on various pretexts, to sail for the Holy Land; having married the daughter of John de Brienne, he assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, and thus sowed division both in the East and West. Gregory IX. the successor of Honorius, continued to press the Emperor to fulfil his vow; and at length, judging his excuses frivolous, excommunicated him. Frederick at length sailed: but did more harm by going than he had hitherto done by staying. Under sentence of excommunication, he was received but coldly by the defenders of the Holy Land, with the exception of his own immediate troops, and their commander, the Duke of Limbourg.[1] At the same time that Frederick landed, letters were received by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by the Grand Masters of the two military orders, commanding them to avoid him as an excommunicated and perjured man: and as the Emperor was only accompanied by twenty galleys, he found little obedience and less respect. Kamel was already in the Holy Land: and a treaty was agreed upon between the two princes. By this, Jerusalem was to be delivered to the Emperor: but the concession was clogged with so many drawbacks as to be, in a great degree, valueless. The temple was left in possession of the Mussulmans; resident infidels were to be tried, in cases where neither plaintiff nor defendant was Christian, before a judge of their own creed; the Emperor bound himself to give no assistance to the other Latin princes of the East, for the term of the treaty, which was ten years, and even to defend the Sultan against their attacks; Nazareth, Sidon, and Bethlehem, were given to Frederick. This treaty, to which neither the Patriarch nor the two principal Military Orders would agree, having been ratified, the Emperor went to Jerusalem, and on the following day was crowned, or rather crowned himself, no Prelate being present, King of Jerusalem,

The emperor Frederick

is excommunicated, A.D. 1227.

but sails for Palestine:

his treaty with Kamel:

his coronation at Jerusalem.

[1] Wilken, vi. 401, seq.

in right of his son: the empress, daughter of John de Brienne, being dead. The Patriarch bitterly complained of the whole transaction: the Templars endeavoured to betray Frederick to Kamel, who, with his usual magnanimity, gave notice to the Emperor of their proposal: the churches in Jerusalem were not reconciled, nor the Divine Office celebrated in them. With the return of Frederick to Europe ended, for the present, the hopes of the Egyptian Catholics.

SECTION XV.

CRIMES OF CYRIL.

Crimes of Cyril

his fair beginnings,

and subsequent barefaced simony.

It was not to be expected that one who had been so unscrupulous in the means by which he endeavoured to secure his promotion to the Patriarchal Throne, should, when his ambition was satisfied, be a worthy occupant of that dignity. The pomp, indeed, of Cyril's enthronization was greater than usual, and deeply offended the Mahometans. The Patriarch, in his earlier ordinations of Priests and Deacons, carefully abstained from simony; but no sooner did he commence Episcopal Consecrations, than he followed the example, in this respect, of the worst among his predecessors. The Sees, in consequence of the long want of a Patriarch, were nearly all vacant: and the sum which Cyril thus raised was enormous, for, in a very short time, he ordained forty Bishops. As soon, however, as he had satisfied the fine which the government exacted on his accession, he became more moderate in his demands; but not till he had so far alienated the minds of many among his people, that a Monk, named Peter, renounced his Communion, and headed a schism among the Jacobites.[1]

Things proceeding from bad to worse, and the rapacity of the Patriarch being no less notorious than scandalous, the principal Ecclesiastics and most influential laymen among the Jacobites met him in the church of S. Mary at Muhallaca, and laid before

[1] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaud. p. 578.

him their causes of complaint and dissatisfaction. Cyril excused himself on the ground of simony, by alleging the utter impossibility of his having, in any other manner, satisfied the demands of the Court. The Bishops rebuked the unsatiable ambition which had led him to submit to these demands; and obliged him to swear that, for the future, he would abstain from the allowance or perpetration of simony.

Remonstrances of his Suffragans:

A.D. 1237.

The next proceeding of Cyril was one which, while it alienated the minds of his Suffragans, strongly resembled the policy of the Court of Rome. Indeed, it is possible that, from the then intercourse between Egypt and the West, the proceedings of the Bishop of Rome might not have been entirely unknown at Cairo. He declared all the Monasteries throughout his Diœcese *Patriarchal:* that is, he declared them exempt from the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Bishops, and immediately dependent on the See of Alexandria. Not content with this, he proceeded to annex many of the country churches to the Patriarchal jurisdiction; and by this method he considerably increased his revenues.

He declares the Monasteries Patriarchal.

Cyril subsequently proceeded to an act which was a still more flagrant violation of the Canons and of Ecclesiastical discipline. There had been, for more than six hundred years, a Jacobite Bishop at Jerusalem, subject to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Cyril announced his intention of raising that city to the dignity of a Metropolitical See, and of ordaining a Prelate to that office. He probably intended the authority of the new Bishop to be above that of an ordinary Metropolitan, and to resemble that of the Archbishop of Axum, or the Maphrian. The pretext was the spiritual need of many Egyptians scattered through Syria, who could not understand the language of the native Prelates. The Prelate who was raised to this office, and whose name is not known, gave himself out as another Patriarch, and in that capacity took up his residence at Jerusalem. The Egyptian Clergy were much offended at this infringement of the Canons: they represented to Cyril that Jerusalem lay entirely out of his Diœcese, and that such an encroachment would not be borne by the Patriarch of Antioch. These objections were overruled; but Cyril, hearing that the Patriarchs of Antioch and of the Armenians were about to celebrate the approaching Easter solemnities at

Cyril ordains a Metropolitan for Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, thought proper to dispatch two Legates to them, with the view of obtaining their recognition of the schismatical Metropolitan. The presents which the envoys brought were willingly accepted; but Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch, refused to allow that the intruded Bishop possessed any kind of authority within his Diœcese. The dispute grew warm; the presents were returned, and the Metropolitan excommunicated. The latter appealed to the Latin Church, and on professing the same faith with them, was protected. Not content with those Canonical oppositions, Ignatius determined, says Abu'lfaraj, to requite wrong with wrong. He therefore resolved to ordain one Thomas, an Ethiopian by birth, Metropolitan of Axum. But before venturing on this step, he took the advice of "his brethren, the Frank Bishops of Palestine":—the expression is the Syrian historian's. They recommended patience till a communication could be made to Cyril, who would perhaps repair the wrongs that he had done: if he did not, they proffered their assistance to the Antiochenes. Ignatius, however, would not wait; but ordained the Metropolitan on the following day. The Franks were justly indignant; and were with difficulty pacified. This fellow-feeling between the Jacobite Chair of Antioch and the Latin Prelates of Palestine is, to say the least, very curious.[1]

Dispute with the See of Antioch.

The Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch shortly after compromised the matter; the latter, by allowing the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan, the former, by consenting that it should extend no further than Gaza. This Bishopric subsists at the present day, under the title of that "of the East."

About this time, Cyril was accused to the Divan of having, under pretence of satisfying the demands of the Sultan, amassed the sum of nine thousand pieces of gold. This accusation was based on a more solid foundation than many which we have heretofore noticed of a similar tendency; and the Patriarch was compelled to pay fifteen hundred pieces before he was liberated.[2]

The death of Kamel followed shortly afterwards: and the A.D. 1237.

[1] This dispute is related by the Continuer of Severus (Renaudot, p. 579, *seq.*), and by Gregory Bar-Hebræus (Asseman, B. O. ii. 371, *seq.*). The latter is more favourable to Cyril than his own biographer.

[2] Sever. Contin. ap. Renaudot, p. 581.

Cyril imprisoned.

complaints of peculation were, under his son and successor, Adel, renewed against Cyril. The Patriarch was at this time at Alexandria: the inhabitants of which city were more favourably disposed towards him than those of any other part of Egypt. He was arrested, and sent to Cairo: the Bishops began to talk openly of his deposition, but it was finally agreed to offer him certain conditions, on his acceptance of which no further measures should be taken against him. The principal terms were, that the practice of simony should be discontinued; that the rights of the Patriarch of Antioch should be respected, and the limits of the jurisdiction of the new Metropolitan be strictly confined to Gaza; that those Ecclesiastics who had been ordained in spite of their Canonical incapacity, from being the offspring of a second or third marriage, should be deposed; that the Patriarch should content himself with the usual habit of the Copts, and not affect to imitate the innovations of the Melchites; and that one of the senior Bishops should be appointed secretary to the Patriarch. To these conditions Cyril thought fit to give no reply. The Jacobites loudly demanded a Synod for his trial; but the principal promoter of this measure, a Monk, by name Hamad, was, through the influence of Cyril's friends at Court, thrown into prison, and hardly escaped with his life. The Patriarch himself was set at liberty, and appeared firmly established in the favour of the Sultan Adel.

Conditions proposed by his Suffragans.

Cyril released.

But as the complaints against his mal-administration grew louder, fourteen Bishops of Lower Egypt assembled at Cairo, and, after many conferences with Cyril, succeeded in obtaining his consent to a series of chapters, or decrees, which they considered necessary for the Reformation of the Alexandrian Church. The document in question commences with a profession of Faith, which thus treats of the Incarnation: "that CHRIST, GOD made Man, is One Nature, One Person, One Will; that He is at the same time GOD the WORD, and Man born of the Virgin Mary; and that thus all the attributes and proprieties, as well of the Divine as of the Human Nature, may be verily predicated of Him." The Articles demanded are valuable as throwing light on the history of the times, and are as follows:—

Council of Cairo.

Articles for the Reformation of the Church.

That none should henceforth be ordained Bishop, who was not qualified for that dignity by his learning, by the consent of

the people, and by a regular Pscphisma; that the consecrations of Bishops and the ordinations of Priests should be performed gratis; and that Ecclesiastical judges should be forbidden, under any pretence whatever, to receive presents:—the whole under pain of excommunication. That the Patriarch, assisted by a Council of the most experienced Bishops, should draw up a compendium of the Canons, particularly with respect to the Sacraments, and matrimonial and testamentary causes; that copies of this document should be dispersed throughout Egypt, and that all future Ecclesiastical causes should be determined according to it. That a general Synod should be held annually in the third week after Pentecost; that the traditions of the Coptic Church should be preserved; that Circumcision, except in case of necessity, should take place before Baptism; that none who had been a slave should be raised to the Priesthood, except in Ethiopia and Nubia, where this rule might be relaxed in favour of otherwise deserving candidates; that the sons of *uncrowned* mothers should, both themselves and their posterity, be incapable of Ecclesiastical promotion; that the Metropolitan of Damietta should retain that dignity; that neither the Patriarch, nor any of the Prelates, should presume to hold an Ordination beyond the limits of their respective Dioceses; that the Patriarch should not presume to excommunicate any of the faithful in another Diocese, till after due monition given to its Bishop himself to perform the excommunication; if the Prelate refused, the Patriarch might then act on his own authority: that the same rule should hold with regard to absolution: that *Patriarchal* Churches should return to the obedience of their Diocesan Bishop; that the stipend paid by the Monasteries to the Patriarch should not be exacted unjustly nor tyrannically; that the Patriarch should not compel a Bishop to ordain any candidate against his own will, or that of the faithful in his Diocese; that the Patriarch should not claim a right over the offerings made in the various churches of his Diœcese, on Festivals, unless the Bishop of the Diocese had consented before his consecration to commute for these the ordinary pension paid to the See of Alexandria; that the accusations of Monks against each other should not be rashly received; and that, in settling these differences, laics should not be employed as judges; that

no Bishop should be excommunicated for a trifling cause, nor without three admonitions from the Patriarch, two by letter, and one by word of mouth; that an Hegumen, or head of a Monastery, should be considered as of the same rank as a Protopope, and should therefore pronounce the Prayer of Absolution, when a common Priest was celebrating, and receive the Communion immediately after the Celebrant. Finally, that none of the Faithful should incur excommunication by attending, on a Festival, the Divine Office in a church out of his own Diocese.

Works of the two Ebn-nassals.

The above are the principal heads of reform for the Alexandrian Church: how the compact was observed by the Patriarch, we shall have occasion hereafter to notice. The Compendium of Canons was also made; its principal author was Safi-el-Fedail, better known by the name of Ebn-nassal, and one of the most distinguished theologians of his time. There was, indeed, another contemporary divine of the same name, and a brother of the former, known to us by an extensive and laborious work, under the title of *A Collection of the Principles of Faith;* in which he not only refutes the systems of Paganism and Judaism, but attacks the Nestorians and the Melchites. His method is, to give an account of each religion in the words of its supporters, and then to refute it, not only by Scripture but by philosophy. His work is chiefly valuable from the quotations and abstracts which it preserves to us of authors whose writings have perished.[1]

Canons of Cyril.

The Canons of Cyril-ben-Laklak contain nineteen sections in five chapters. The first, in one section, treats of Baptism; the second, in seven, of Marriage; the third, in one, of wills; the fourth, in eight, of inheritance; the fifth, in two, of the Priesthood.[2]

Civil war.

At this time Egypt was thrown, by the rebellion of some discontented Emirs, into a state of civil war. The Christians suffered considerably from popular licence: in the celebrated church of S. Mary at Muhallaca, the Divine Offices were for some time intermitted, because of the vicinity of a Mosque, whence the Muezzins incited the rabble against the Jacobites.

Cyril again accused.

The Patriarch was again accused before the Government, occasion being taken as well from his simoniacal ordinations, as from his cruelty in the punishment of a madman, by whom he

[1] Renaudot, p. 585. [2] Wansleb. p. 294.

had been insulted. The former accusation, though notoriously true, could not be proved; and the enemies of Cyril then objected his consecration of a Metropolitan for Jerusalem, and his frequent and suspicious communication with the Franks. The only result of these proceedings was a fine of three hundred pieces of gold, to which the Patriarch was subjected, and increased hostility between him and his Suffragans.

It would appear, however, that, whatever were the crimes of Cyril, he has the credit of having restored Sacramental Confession, and put an end to the absurd rite of confessing over a burning censer. Nor does the Jacobite Communion seem to have again adopted the innovations of John and Mark.

The remainder of Cyril's life was passed in a continual struggle with his Prelates. Had there been any precedent for the deposition of a Patriarch of Alexandria by his Suffragans, such would probably have been the fate of this wicked man. He was perpetually accused to the Sultan; again heavily fined; and yet contrived to retain his dignity to the end of his days. The last years of his life were marked by several calamities; of which one of the greatest was the apostacy of the Bishop of Sendafa to Mahometanism. And thus much must be confessed to the honour of the Jacobites, that, sunk and depraved as they were, such a lapse of one of their Bishops is, if not unique, of the most extreme rarity.

Apostacy of the Bishop of Sendafa.

At length that Communion was freed from the tyranny of Cyril; who, after passing some time in the Monastery of Elchemah, enjoying the communion of no reputable Ecclesiastic,[1] and held in contempt by all, went to his account. Nor were his funeral rites undisturbed. The Sultan having been informed that the deceased Patriarch had left behind him considerable treasures, threw two of his nephews into prison, and so rigourously extorted from them the whole of their uncle's ill-acquired wealth, that there scarcely remained a sufficient sum to satisfy his funeral expenses.

Death of Cyril: Feb. 14, A.D. 1243.

With Cyril the son of Laklak the history of the Alexandrian Church, begun by Severus, and continued by various writers,

[1] Sollerius, for the sake of preserving the credit of the Ethiopian Eulogist, (Cyril being commemorated in that Calendar,) actually imagines him to have been a calumniated man. (p. 99*.) So much do we owe to Renaudot.

End of the detailed sources of Jacobite History.

comes to an end. Henceforward we know comparatively little of the Jacobite Communion, for although it is possible that MS. histories of the subsequent period may exist, they have not reached the West, and have escaped the researches which have been made, for that purpose, in the Monasteries of Egypt.

Nicholas II., Patr. LXVI. Circa A.D. 1243. A.M. 959.

About the time that Cyril departed this life, the Catholic Chair of S. Mark became vacant by the decease of Gregory. He was succeeded by Nicholas,[1] the second of that name. The Coptic Patriarchate remained vacant for about eight years.

SECTION XVI.

SECOND CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA.

Second capture of Damietta.

It was in the year following the elevation of Nicholas, that S. Louis of France, on his recovery from a dangerous illness, assumed the Cross. Various circumstances conspired to defer the accomplishment of this vow: but the king wrote to the Eastern Christians, assuring them of his intentions to come to their assistance, and exhorting them, in the meantime, vigorously to defend themselves against the Infidels.

It will be proper, in this place, to say a few words as to the succession of the Egyptian Sultans.

A.D. 1237.

To Kamel, as we have already remarked, succeeded his younger son Adel. This prince, after a reign of two years, was

Intrigues of Innocent IV.

succeeded by his brother Saleh Negemeddin Yub. It was to him that Pope Innocent IV. thought fit to address a letter, requesting him to break the truce which he had made with the emperor Frederick, then excommunicated and deposed by the Church: a letter to which the Sultan returned an indignant answer.[2]

Expedition of S. Louis.

At length Louis, having resisted the advice of those who represented to him that a vow, taken under such circumstances as

[1] His name is known from his pertinacious defence of the Arsenites, as related by George Pachymer. Le Quien, ii. 491.

[2] Wilken, vii. 38. Rainald. 1246, lii. *seq.*

had been his, at the time of receiving the Cross, was not binding, sailed for Cyprus, where he passed the winter, and determined on commencing his enterprise by the siege of Damietta.[1] His court and camp were such as befitted a Crusader: and the speech which he made to his nobles, when approaching the shores of Egypt, sets forth both his piety and courage in the strongest light. "If we fall," he said, "we die martyrs: if we conquer, God and Christendom will be glorified by our victory. He Who foresees all things would hardly have sent me hither in vain: let us fight for Him, and He will triumph by us." The sand banks preventing the approach of the larger vessels, the army embarked in boats, and advanced to the shore. In the first boat was the standard bearer with the Oriflamme; in the second, S. Louis himself, with Robert, or Guido,[2] Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Mahometans, who were drawn up to oppose the descent, after an ineffectual resistance retired: and in the course of the night abandoned Damietta. On the following day, which was the second Sunday after Pentecost, the King, Bishops, and Clergy, entered the city barefoot in solemn procession: and after reconciling the principal mosque, which had been, thirty years before, a church under the invocation of S. Mary, the Patriarch performed High Mass. The inundation of the Nile was about to commence, and Louis judged it prudent to remain in the newly conquered city till it should subside, and then to march upon Cairo. The name of the Catholic Metropolitan of Damietta is unknown: whoever he was, his claims were, of course, disregarded by the victors; and Louis, after richly endowing a Cathedral church, named one Giles, as Bishop.[3]

June 12, 1248.

June 6, 1249.

Damietta taken.

The Count of Poitiers, brother of S. Louis, having joined him with reinforcements, the monarch marched from Damietta on the twentieth of November, a few days after the death of the Sultan Negemeddin: an event of which the Christians heard on their

[1] With this very interesting expedition we are only cursorily concerned: and may therefore refer to Wilken, vii. 65—290: and Joinville, Vie de Saint Louis, (Ed. Petitot.)

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SECTION XVII.

ACCESSION OF THE MAMELUKES.

Accession of the Mamelukes.

Turanscha having been slain by his Emirs, Chajareldor administered, for some time, the affairs of state; until her principal officers, thinking it unworthy of their dignity to submit to female government, compelled her to give her hand to Azeddin Ibeg, the chief of the Mameluke Turks. A thousand of these had been purchased by Negemeddin as a kind of life-guard; and the consequence of the step was, as usual, the subversion of a dynasty. The Emirs, however, discontented with their new Sultan, bestowed that dignity on Melec-al-Aschraf, a descendant of Kamel, and compelled Ibeg to remain contented with the post of tutor to the new monarch. Chajareldor, however, continued to exercise the real authority; and finding that Ibeg was plotting her death, anticipated him, by causing him to be smothered in the bath. A new revolution placed Almansor, the son of Ibeg, on the throne, who, with his mother, excited the Mamelukes to rise against Chajareldor, and deprive her of both authority and life. Her last act was to cause her jewels to be pounded in a mortar, that they might not fall into the hands of her enemies. Almansor, in less than a year, was deposed, and succeeded by Kotuz, the third of the Mameluke dynasty.[1]

The Jacobites had been much weakened by the crimes and violence of Cyril: and the feuds which his conduct had occasioned, rendered it difficult to make choice of a successor. At length their election fell on Athanasius the son of Kalil, who, as far as in him lay, repaired the mischiefs occasioned by his predecessor.[2]

Athanasius III. Patr. lxxvi. A.D. 1251.

[1] Renaud. p. 596.

[2] Renaud. p. 599. Sollerius, p. 100*. Wansleb. p. 326. Le Quien, ii. 493. Alex. Catalog. Makrizi, § 497. According to this historian the Patriarch's full name was Athanasius Ben-ul-kis Ab-ul-Mokarem Ben-Kalil. This is the last Patriarch whose name Makrizi particularizes.

SECTION XVIII.

ARSENIAN SCHISM.

Towards the conclusion of the Pontificate of Nicholas, the Church of Alexandria was separated from the Communion of that of Constantinople: and the origin and progress of this schism must be briefly related. Arsenian schism.

Constantinople, it will be remembered, was at this time in the power of the Latins; and the Court of the Greek Emperor was held at Nicæa. Theodore Lascaris left, at his death, a young son, named John, then only in his eighth year. The dying Emperor named George Muzalon Regent: but this nobleman fell a victim to the jealousy of the other courtiers, within a few days of the death of his master. The Patriarch Arsenius and Michael Palæologus were then appointed joint tutors to the young Prince; the latter prevailed on the former, however, to bestow on him, during the minority of John Lascaris, the sole authority, together with the title of Despot. The soldiers shortly afterwards elevated Michael to the dignity of Emperor: and Arsenius consented to crown him, having taken the precaution to exact from him the most tremendous oaths that he would resign the Empire when the legal claimant should attain his majority. Palæologus for some time treated John Lascaris with every exterior mark of respect: but by degrees his attentions diminished, and he shewed clearly that it was not his intention to resign the crown. Arsenius, a conscientious man, distressed that he should have been instrumental in elevating an usurper to the purple, abdicated his new office, under the pretence of incapacity for its duties. The Emperor and the Clergy, on learning the retirement of the Patriarch, earnestly requested him to reascend the Œcumenical Throne: but Arsenius would neither comply with their demand, nor give a written document of abdication. Michael was then persuaded to require his resignation of the pastoral staff: and Arsenius informed the messengers that they could take it if they pleased. Wearied out with the obstinacy of the Patriarch, Michael informed the principal

A.D. 1258. Death of Theodore Lascaris.

Michael Palæologus, Despot and Emperor.

Abdication of Arsenius.

Bishops at Court that they must act as they thought fit: and after long deliberation, they raised Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Ephesus, to the Patriarchate. He held that dignity for a year only: and it was during the vacancy which followed his death, that Constantinople was re-taken by the Greeks. The earliest care of Michael, on re-entering the city, was to fill the Patriarchal Throne: and after some hesitation, he determined on recalling Arsenius. That Prelate accepted the offer with joy, and crowned Michael a second time, the recovery of Constantinople being considered equivalent to the acquisition of a new empire. In this ceremony no mention was made of the claims of John Lascaris, who was shortly afterwards blinded and imprisoned by the Emperor, from whom, however, he received in abundance the necessaries of life.

John Lascaris blinded and imprisoned.

Arsenius, on becoming acquainted with this cruel deed, boldly excommunicated Michael; and the Emperor found it his policy to submit, to assume the outward marks of penitence, and to promise satisfaction. But Arsenius was not so to be deceived: he resolutely refused to absolve the usurper, and was to be prevailed on neither by promises nor by threats. A negociation was entered on by Palæologus with the Pope: but this proving ineffectual, he determined on deposing the obnoxious Patriarch. A council was summoned: the Emperor complained of the obstinacy of Arsenius, which, he said, drove him to despair: the Bishops were obsequious: various false accusations were brought forward which the Patriarch refuted, but the decision of the Council declared him deposed, and his place was filled by Germanus of Adrianople.

Arsenius excommunicates Michael Palæologus.

Arsenius deposed.

But Nicholas of Alexandria, far from approving these proceedings, was, from the first, the warm supporter of Arsenius: and to the end of his life held his persecutors excommunicated. How long he survived the deposition of Arsenius we know not: but his death may probably be fixed before the year 1270. He was succeeded by Athanasius, the third of that name. This Prelate appears to have been consecrated at Constantinople: and had originally been[1] Monk of Mount Sinai. Of the earlier years of his Pontificate nothing is known: but in the important ecclesiastical movements which occurred subsequently, he, as we shall see, distinguished himself.

Athanasius III. Patr. LXVII. Before A.D. 1270. A.M. 986.

[1] Pachym. 7, 8. Le Quien, ii. 490.

SECTION XIX.

SCHISM AMONG THE JACOBITES.

Schism among the Jacobites.

We have hitherto had occasion to observe, that the elections among the Jacobites, however frequently decided from secular motives, and marking out unworthy candidates, were, in appearance at least, free and canonical. The schism which broke out after the death of Athanasius III.,[1] is the first exception to this rule. It happened that of two candidates, Gabriel and John, neither had sufficient influence to secure his election, while both numbered many influential partizans. Recourse was had to the Heikeliet, and the lot marked out Gabriel to the Patriarchate. As the first step to this dignity, he was ordained Hegumen: when John, with a party of his followers, interfered, procured the setting aside of the former election, obtained a forced consent in his own favour, and was consecrated within a month of the death of Athanasius. He was known by the name of Abusahid, and is reckoned by Jacobite historians as the seventy eighth Patriarch, to mark the priority of Gabriel's claims. The office so unjustly acquired was enjoyed by John for nearly seven years, when he was deposed, and Gabriel, his competitor, duly consecrated.[2]

John VII. Patr. lxxviii. A.D. 1262.

Gabriel III., Patr. lxxvii. A.D. 1269.

John did not rest contented with this sentence, and by application to the Sultan procured its reversal. The unfortunate Gabriel, after a Patriarchate of two years, was deposed, and died in the same year: and John, re-assuming the government of the Jacobite Church, retained it till his death.

John VII. again: A.D. 1271.

SECTION XX.

ATHANASIUS AND THE RE-UNION.

Athanasius and the re-union.

To trace the succession of the various Mamelukc Turks, would be equally tedious and unprofitable. These princes, raised to

[1] Abulbiveat, MS. Can. Renaud. 600, 601.

[2] Renaudot, p. 601. Le Quien, ii. 494. Wansleb. p. 326. Sollerius, p. 100*. Alex. Catalog.

the throne by their fellow slaves, were deposed and murdered by them at their will: and their short and inglorious reigns offer no interest to the historian. The conquests, indeed, of Boudocdar, diminished the little hope which the Christians still possessed of recovering the Holy Land; and were the means of hurrying on the Second Crusade of S. Louis, in which that king fell a victim to his zeal. Bondocdar, meanwhile, pursued his conquests. Joppa, the castles of Beaufort, and that of Carac, fell into his hands: and finally, Antioch submitted to him without a struggle. This great city never recovered the blow which it then received: and from thenceforth dwindled away till reduced to its present condition of a mere village. The Crusade of Edward of England produced no lasting result: and thenceforward the affairs of the East became desperate.

Conquests of Bondocdar:

end of the Crusades.

The newly recovered empire of Constantinople was by no means secure. Constantly menaced from the East, it was now in considerable danger from the Western Pretenders: and Michael Palæologus, fearful lest the Pope, Gregory X., should cause a general Crusade to be preached against him, anxiously entertained the project of a re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches. The Emperor, having convened a Council, remarked that such a step would be easy: the question of leavened or unleavened bread might be left as it was, the Greeks continuing to employ the former, the Latins the latter: that, provided the Western Church would consent to expunge the *Filioque* from the Creed, it might well be retained in any other place: and that to name the Pope in the diptychs was no degradation to the Eastern Patriarchs. Joseph, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was an inflexible enemy to the proposal of Michael, and found a powerful seconder in the Cartophylax Beccus. The latter, as being an ecclesiastic of much influence and learning, particularly irritated the Emperor: who, in revenge, committed him, on a false accusation, to prison. Having thus freed himself of his principal opponent, Palæologus gave orders that the Archdeacon Meletiniotes, and George of Cyprus, the two most learned defenders of the proposed union, should compose a work in its favour, proving that the Doctrine of the Latins was pure and apostolical. With this he was so well pleased, as to think it unanswerable; and believing that since he had secured Beccus,

Question of the re-union.

Negociations with Beccus.

no theologian of any ability remained on the Greek side, he presented the treatise to the Patriarch, demanding a reply. Joseph, on his side, assembled a Council: the work was perused with attention, and the task of replying to it was intrusted to a Monk, by name Job, and to the Byzantine historian, George Pachymeres. Their answer, revised by the Synod, was sent to the Emperor: who, finding his intentions frustrated, resolved to gain Beccus. Partly by kindness, partly by arguments, he succeeded in this design: and Beccus became thenceforward the most able and consistent advocate of the re-union. In the meanwhile, Job had prevailed on the Patriarch, to declare by writing, confirming his declaration by oath, that he had no desire for the proposed union: and the greater number of his Suffragans followed his example. Palæologus, however, encouraged by the conversion of Beccus to his side, dispatched to Rome two agents of the Pope, both Franciscans, who happened to be in Constantinople, and charged them with a letter, in which he expressed his joy at the promise which affairs were giving of a perfect union between the Eastern and Western Churches. Gregory X., replying from Lyons, shewed considerable suspicion of the artifices of the Greeks. But Palæologus was determined that the Council summoned at Lyons, should be a witness of the union. He therefore deputed as his ambassadors, Germanus, late Patriarch of Constantinople, and Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nicæa, with several of the Court dignitaries. Unwilling entirely to break with Joseph, and yet seeing, that if the union were ratified, that Patriarch must, in consequence of his rash oath, resign the Throne, the Emperor offered the following conditions, which were accepted by him. Joseph was to retire to the Monastery of Peribleptus, and there to wait the event, retaining, in the meantime, all his marks of dignity, and mentioned in the diptychs. If the ambassadors were successful, he was voluntarily to resign his Throne: if unsuccessful, to return to it with honour. In this unsatisfactory condition was the Church of Constantinople at the commencement of 1274. The Emperor continued his efforts, during the spring, with the Bishops, but to little purpose.

A.D. 1273.

Negociations with the Pope.

The ambassadors were now on their way: the Prelates in one galley, the greater part of the officers in another. On the even-

ing of Maundy Thursday, as the vessels were doubling Cape Malæa, a storm arose: the galley which bore the noblemen was driven on the shore, and dashed in pieces, one only escaping of the whole crew: the sailors of the Patriarch's vessel, guided by Providence, ran out to sea, weathered the storm, and having learned at Modon the loss of their companions, continued their voyage in safety. The ambassadors arrived at Lyons on the Feast of S. John Baptist, and were received with the greatest honour, all the Western Prelates going forth to meet them, and conducting them to the mansion where the Pope was lodged.

Union at the Council of Lyons: June 29, 1274.

Five days after, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a scene was exhibited in the church of S. John, which, for splendour, has probably never been equalled. The five hundred Western Bishops, and the thousand dignitaries that composed the Council having assembled, the Pope celebrated High Mass: the Epistle and Gospel were chanted, first in Latin, then in Greek, the officiating Deacons being vested, each according to the custom of his Church: S. Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor, preached: the Cardinals intoned, the Canons of S. John chanted, the Latin Creed: Germanus, with the Greek Prelates of Calabria, assisted by two of the Pope's ecclesiastics, who understood that language, chanted it in Greek, repeating the clause containing the *Filioque* three times. And before Mass was continued, the same Prelates sang some Greek stanzas in honour of the See of S. Peter.

July 6, Fourth Session.

On the Octave of the Festival, the Council held its Fourth Session. Sermon concluded, the Pope briefly explained the affair of the Greeks: and the letters of the Emperor and of the Prelates were read. That of the former contained his profession of faith: it was word for word that which had been prescribed by Clement IV. to Michael, seven years previously. It embraced the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and of the Incarnation: the doctrine of purgatory, the Primacy of Rome, with right of appeal thither, the assertion of Transubstantiation, and the liberty of entering into second, third, or fourth marriages. Michael, however, requested that the Greek Church, though not contravening the doctrine, might be allowed to retain the ancient Creed, and to omit the *Filioque*. The letter of the Bishops was less complaisant: they do not address Gregory X. as Œcumenical Pope, but simply as the Great Pontiff of the Apostolic

See. The names of the Metropolitans and Archbishops, who, to the number of thirty-five, (being all the Suffragans of that rank that Constantinople had,) signed this document, are not given: the Sees only are mentioned. After these, the principal dignitaries of the Church of Constantinople attached their names. George Acropolites, the historian, took, in the Emperor's name, the oath of abjuration of schism, and recognizance of the primacy of Rome. The Pope, shedding tears of joy, intoned the *Te Deum;* the Creed was then chanted in Latin and Greek; and thus the short-lived union of Constantinople with Rome was rendered complete.

We say, *of Constantinople,* for in no sense can the whole Eastern Church be said to have been included in the Union, nor to have accepted its conditions. Athanasius of Alexandria was not, it would appear, consulted; at all events, as will appear presently, he gave no consent to the proceedings. It is doubtful what were the sentiments of Euthymius, Patriarch of Antioch; but nothing appears to have been done by his Church synodically, and indeed he, like his predecessors, was an absentee at Constantinople. Gregory II., who then filled the Throne of Jerusalem, was so much opposed to the Union as to write against Beccus, for his support of that measure, and this work is, though in MS., still extant.

On the return of the ambassadors, an unexpected difficulty arose. Joseph refused to resign: but the Prelates then at Constantinople, with the Pope's nuncios, considered his promise of vacating the See, in case the union should be established, equivalent to a resignation: and the Throne of Constantinople was accordingly declared vacant: and after some hesitation, the Emperor elevated Beccus to that dignity. The new Patriarch, some time after his consecration, sent his profession of faith to Rome; it arrived there during the vacancy of the See occasioned by the death of John XXI. It differs from that demanded by Pope Clement IV.: and the Procession of the Holy Ghost is so enveloped in a multitude of words, as to yield a great opening for future quibbles. Athanasius of Alexandria was at this time in Constantinople, whither he had come to implore the protection of Michael against the persecutors of his Church. Careful, of course, to avoid offending the Emperor, he refused all con-

Proceedings after the Union at Constantinople.

nexion with the Union; merely saying that he was a stranger and a foreigner, and not summoned to give his advice on the topic in question. The state of Constantinople meanwhile was wretched. The old schism of the Arsenians remained; a new division arose between the followers of Joseph and Beccus; Palæologus persecuted the former: the people abhorred the latter: the despots of Ætolia and Thessaly took up arms for the Eastern Faith. Charles, King of Sicily, implored the Pope's licence to attack Constantinople, and Bondocdar of Egypt was pursuing his victorious course. Nicholas III. insisted on the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Eastern Creed: open rebellion broke out: his own relations intrigued against the wretched Michael; his niece, Mary, Queen of Bulgaria, negociated his ruin with Bondocdar. Of all this distress, Athanasius continued an unwilling witness.[1]

Beccus, weary of the strife in which he was engaged, retired from the Throne, but, after an ineffectual attempt to restore Joseph, was recalled. The character of this Patriarch is the only one, which, in the lamentable history of these events, it is possible to contemplate with satisfaction, and it may charitably be supposed that he bore no part in the fraud by which, in the letter addressed by him after his recall to the Pope, a number of subscriptions were appended of Bishops who had no being, and of Sees which had never existed.

Dissolution of the Union.

All the labour of Michael was in vain. Abhorred by his own subjects for his violence, he was suspected by the Roman Church, and the excommunication madly pronounced against him by the "warlike Martin IV." at Orvietto,[2] on the 18th of November, 1281, virtually destroyed the Union, so laboriously effected, for so short a time preserved.

A.D. 1282.

In the following year, Athanasius accompanied the Emperor on his expedition against the Persians, and returned to Constantinople.

[1] Of all these events, which will more properly be treated in writing of Constantinople, a brief and fair account is given by Gibbon, xi. 331, *seq.* and by Fleury, vol. xv.

[2] "*Belligeri* comitis Martini tempore Quarti," says the epitaph of William Durandus.

SECTION XXI.

ATHANASIUS AND ANDRONICUS.

Athanasius and Andronicus.

It is not often that we find a Patriarch of Alexandria so much mixed up with the affairs of the Constantinopolitan court as was Athanasius. He was in the Imperial City when Michael Palæologus, then on an expedition, breathed his last. His son Andronicus, notwithstanding the professions he had twice made, in his letters to the court of Rome, immediately renounced the Union, and declared himself ready to undergo any canonical penance for the sin of having appeared to consent to it. His first desire was the deposition of Beccus: but that Patriarch, giving way to the honest impulse of his straightforward character, voluntarily resigned his dignity, and was succeeded by the ex-Patriarch Joseph, worn out with age and infirmity, and apparently at the point of death. The churches were reconciled: the Priests who had consented to the union submitted to penance: and the return of Joseph was accompanied by every external sign of gladness. The Bishops, who, in the incapacity of Joseph, regulated affairs, deemed it necessary to convene a Council. Two thrones were placed in the upper part of the place of assembly: one for Joseph, who was unable from his illness to attend, the other for Athanasius, who presided. Beccus was cited before the Synod, for having not only taught what was heretical, but, contrary to a promise which he had given, written at all on the points in dispute, and thereby given occasion to great scandal. Defence was useless; and the accused Prelate was compelled to give in his resignation, a proceeding of which Joseph had the honesty to disapprove.

A.D. 1283.

Deposition of Beccus.

March, 1283. Attempts to reconcile the Arsenians.

The Arsenian schism broke out with renewed vigour: and the death of Joseph inspired its supporters with fresh courage. George of Cyprus was chosen by Andronicus as his successor, in the hope of moderating between the Arsenians and Josephites, and this Prelate took the name of Gregory: and a Council was summoned, by the Emperor's order, at Blachernæ. The Prelates,

who had been foremost in consenting to the union, were brought in the most insulting manner before the Synod, and deposed: others were condemned for contumacy in not appearing before it.

Athanasius, had not, as we have seen, been forward in approving the Union: but he now refused his sanction to these violent acts. Gregory, had he been left to himself, would probably have acted in a similar manner: but he was influenced by others, although in private he was used to say that the Council of Blachernæ was an assembly of the wicked. Athanasius was urgently pressed to consent to the Synod, and, as having communicated with those who had promoted the Union, expressly to renounce it. The Prelates who directed the Council threatened to omit his name from the diptychs, unless he agreed to these conditions: and Athanasius nobly maintained his ground, and underwent the penalty.

First Synod of Blachernæ.

The schisms continuing, a second Council was held in Blachernæ. Gregory presided: Beccus was brought forward, having been recalled from exile in Prusa in Bithynia; and Athanasius assisted at the conference, though the gout confined him to his bed. Muzalon, the logothete, was the chief supporter of the Eastern doctrine on the subject of the Procession: Athanasius acted as a kind of moderator, assuring Beccus that he agreed with his meaning, but considered his expressions dangerous and unsound. This conference, though well meant and not ill-conducted, was without effect.

Second Synod of Blachernæ.

Beccus was sent back to a more severe confinement in Bithynia: and the Arsenians, Josephites, and favourers of the union, continued their unhappy schisms. Gregory resolved to publish a work on the Procession, which should at once and for ever put an end to all disputes: it was known by the name of the Tome, and was subscribed by the Emperor and many of the Bishops, but the Clergy generally refused. Beccus replied: several of those who were opposed to the Latin Creed sided with the latter against Gregory: and Athanasius, though threatened with exile, steadily refused to add his name to the subscriptions. He, however, composed in his own vindication a Confession of Faith, which was generally approved. Gregory became odious to the people: Athanasius advised him to resign

A.D. 1288.

his dignity: and in this advice, after a tedious negociation, the Patriarch acquiesced.

Moderation and judgment of Athanasius:

We next find Athanasius earnestly, but vainly, employed in an attempt to re-unite the Arsenians. But the honesty and moderation of this Patriarch could not exempt him, in these troublesome times, from persecution. The successor of Gregory was Athanasius, a man of almost primitive asceticism, but with little judgment; offended with the luxury that reigned among the Ecclesiastics of Constantinople, but ignorant how to remedy it. It happened that Michael Palæologus had bestowed two monasteries, within the Diocese of Constantinople, on Athanasius of Alexandria. The new Patriarch of Constantinople was much offended at this violation of his rights: and our Prelate, after receiving several insults from his namesake, judged it better to retire to Rhodes. Here he remained, in a kind of exile, till the severity of Athanasius of Constantinople obliged him to abdicate the Œcumenical Throne.[1]

he retires to Rhodes. A.D. 1293.

SECTION XXII.

THE JACOBITE SUCCESSION.

The Jacobite succession.

We have already said that we do not think it necessary to trace the obscure annals of the Mameluke Sultans. The capture of Acre,[2] by Melec-al-Aschraf, put an end to the hopes which the Egyptian Christians might hitherto have entertained of succours from the West; and convinced them that the will of God was, for the present, their continued servitude. The absence of Athanasius must have been extremely prejudicial to his Church; and indeed, both the Catholic and Jacobite Communions were at a miserably low ebb. The successor of John was Theodosius, the son of Zuabel: who is called a

Theodosius II. Patr. lxxix. A.D. 1294.

[1] All these tedious disputes are narrated by Pachymeres, i. 34, *seq.*; by Nicephorus Gregorias, vi. 1. *seq.*, and expounded very learnedly by Banduri, Comment. in Antiq. Constantinopolitanas, p. 939. Le Quien, i. 286, *seq.*

[2] Wilken, vii. 737, *seq.*

Frank.[1] By this term we are either to understand a native of Syria, or a descendant of some of those Franks who settled in Damietta on its first or second captures. He governed the See about six years; and was succeeded by John of Moniet Koutis.[2] In his time, the Christians suffered a severe persecution, which, as was too often the case, was occasioned by their own fault.[3] We have already seen that many, both Catholics and Jacobites, were employed in various offices in the Divan, such as in farming taxes, as scribes, as secretaries. Many of these, besides their lawful gains, had the opportunity of largely peculating: and there were those who did not fail to avail themselves of this unrighteous method of increasing their fortunes. It happened that a man of property, on his way to Mecca from the interior of Africa, being at Cairo, was desirous of paying his respects to the Sultan. In the street which led to the palace, he met a Christian, mounted on a superb charger, gorgeously arrayed, and followed by a numerous retinue of Mussulman attendants. A crowd of petitioners formed his escort; some requested his patronage; some, with tears, besought his mercy; others went so far as to kiss his feet. The object of this servility received it with great haughtiness, and vouchsafed no other answer than a command to his attendants to disperse the mob. The Emir, full of indignation, entered the palace; and bitterly complained of the degraded state of the Mussulman religion. "What wonder," he exclaimed, "if our arms are unsuccessful against the Tartars, when we thus violate our laws with respect to the Christians?" His tears and clamours had their effect: the law which Omar, on the first capture of Egypt, had enacted, was revived, and Christians thus compelled to distinguish themselves by a blue, as the Jews and Samaritans were respectively by a yellow, and red, turban; the use of horses and mules forbidden, and a profession of Mahometanism required before an office in the Divan could be undertaken. Violation of these laws was followed by outlawry. The Patriarch John and the Echmalotarch of the Jews were called before the Emirs, and each, on behalf of his people,

John VIII. Patr. lxxv. A.D. 1300.

Eleventh persecution under Nacer ben Kelaoun.

[1] Renaudot, 602. Le Quien, ii. 496. Sollerius, p. 100*. Wansleb. p. 326. Alex. Catalog.

[2] Renaudot, 602. Sollerius, p. 100*. Le Quien, ii. 497. Alex. Catalog.

[3] Makrizi, § 536, *seq.*

promised obedience. Many apostacies ensued: the lucrative employments of the Divan were the allurements to perdition.

The new edict was the signal for a general persecution on the part of the Mahometans. Many churches were destroyed, and all closed, with the exception of those in the Desert of S. Macarius, and at Alexandria. By order of the Emirs, when complaints were brought before them, such churches as had existed before the Conquest of Egypt were permitted to remain: those erected since that period were ordered to be destroyed: an order which, as regards the latter clause, was probably only partially obeyed. The churches, however, remained closed for more than a year and a half; and the condition of the Christians was deplorable. At length, Andronicus dispatched an embassy to the Sultan, or rather to the Emir, Eldschaschenkir, on whom the weight of government then rested, and who was afterwards himself Sultan, requesting some favour to his Christian subjects.[1] Another deputation to a similar effect was received from Barchenoni, as Abu'lberkat calls it, that is, from Barcelona[2]; in other words, from James the Just, King of Arragon, who accompanied his request for the re-opening of the churches with presents, not to the Sultan only, but, (which was perhaps of more importance) to the principal Emirs. These interferences produced, in great measure, the desired effect.

A.D. 1303. Destruction of churches.

Embassy from Andronicus and from James the Just.

SECTION XXIII.

THE ADVENTURES OF ATHANASIUS.

Athanasius was now again residing in Constantinople. What motive could have induced him thus to desert, at a most critical time, his flock, does not appear. It was certainly no want of courage, as his firmness in refusing to yield to the Council of

The adventures of Athanasius.

[1] Abu'lberkat, ap. Wansleb. p. 327, says, the Ambassador of Lascaris, Emperor of Constantinople; a pardonable mistake.

[2] By a false reading in Wansleb's MS. he speaks of an embassy from *Bersciennuni*, and very naïvely adds, "Je ne scaurois vous dire qui est cette personage." Makrizi, § 558, mentions the embassy.

Blachernæ abundantly proves. On the cession of Athanasius of Constantinople, he had returned to that city, where he was received by Andronicus with great honour: and shortly afterwards entrusted by that prince with an embassy to the King of Armenia, whose daughter he was desirous of procuring for his son. He had, however, the misfortune to be pursued by pirates: his helmsman ran the vessel aground: and the Patriarch was glad to return in the most private manner to Constantinople.

His embassy to Armenia.

The troubles of that unhappy Church still continued. To Athanasius, John, whose original name had been Cosmas, succeeded. His compelled resignation occasioned another schism: but the secular arm prevailed, and Athanasius was restored. The Patriarch of Alexandria disapproved of this proceeding. "Once on a time," said he to the Emperor, "a tanner had a white cat, which was in the habit of taking one mouse daily. But, having fallen into the vat of liquor which her master kept for the purpose of blackening his hides, and having thus changed her colour, the mice imagined that she had taken the monastic habit, and would no longer eat meat, and that they might therefore innocently approach her. The consequence of which was, that she made a hearty meal on two of them; and the others agreed that it was wonderful to find an evil disposition made worse by a religious habit." This fable, however, directed against Athanasius, who during his cession had retired to a monastery, produced no effect on Andronicus. He at length succeeded in causing a partial reunion of his Suffragans to Athanasius of Constantinople; but the successor of S. Mark stood firm in his refusal to recognize the title of the former to the Œcumenical Throne. In the diptychs he named neither Athanasius nor the Emperor: and such was the weight of our Patriarch's authority, that the Bishops at Constantinople were sorely perplexed how to act. They were afraid, in their feeble and disunited state, to omit his name from the diptychs: and they therefore devised another course. The Patriarch was forbidden to celebrate, in which case the assistant deacons must either have read the name of Athanasius of Alexandria, or pointedly omitted it; and even on the great feasts, as those of Orthodoxy, Easter, and S. George, a Priest only performed

his table:

the office.[1] This state of things continued for some time: at length Andronicus, finding that there was no hope of winning Athanasius of Alexandria to his views, ordered him to leave Constantinople, and to return to his own Church. The Patriarch, unwilling, from whatever reason, to revisit Egypt, resolved on passing to Crete; and there secluding himself in a monastery, dependent on that of Mount Sinai, where he had passed the earlier years of his life. He therefore embarked on board a Venetian galley; and taking Eubœa in his way, landed in that island. Here he lived for some time in a public hostelry at his own expense; till his conduct and circumstances rendered him an object of suspicion to some Franciscan Friars, who took upon themselves to interrogate him as to his creed, more especially as to the Church of Rome, and the use of unleavened bread in the Liturgy. Walcher,[2] or Walter, was at this time Latin Bishop of Negropont: whether he took any part in this examination, or was ever in the island, does not appear. The answers of Athanasius not proving satisfactory, it was proposed to burn him; but milder counsels prevailed, rather through fear of a retaliation on the Latins in Egypt, than from any other motive; and his persecutors contented themselves with desiring him to leave Eubœa within ten days. However much dissatisfied with the result, Athanasius was so well pleased with his share in the argument as, at a subsequent period, to publish it.[3] Leaving Eubœa, he crossed to the continent, but was arrested at Thebes by the lord of the place, who threw him into prison. Fortunately for the Patriarch, he had acquired, like many of the Egyptian Ecclesiastics, some knowledge of medicine; and having been consulted on an illness of his captor, and given relief, he was set at liberty. It seems probable that he then returned to Alexandria.

he is ordered to leave Constantinople:

he goes to Eubœa:

his danger:

he is arrested at Thebes. A.D. 1307.

We have now to notice another schismatical invasion of the rights of Alexandria by Rome. The See was peaceably possessed by a Catholic Prelate,—one, too, who had suffered for refusing to condemn those who had subscribed the union, when

Ordination of a Roman Patriarch.

[1] These events are related by Pachymeres, lib. vii. 8, 15, p. 404, 415. Ed. Possevin.

[2] Le Quien, i. 847.

[3] A Manuscript exists in the Royal Library at Paris, and is marked 2272. Le Quien, ii. 496.

A.D. 1310. Clement V. thought fit to nominate a Latin Patriarch to the See. The ecclesiastic whom he thus dignified was a Dominican,[1] by name Giles, a native of Ferrara, and previously Metropolitan, or, as the title went, *Patriarch*, of Grado. From this time, a succession of Latin Patriarchs for Alexandria appears to have been kept up.

SECTION XXIV.

SUCCESSIONS.

Successions. We are now entering on a very obscure part of Alexandrian history: when, deserted by the faithful though tedious Pachymeres, whose history ends in 1307, as we have for some time been by the continuators of Severus, we are left for a short time to the guidance of the Mahometan Makrizi, and then to such detached information as the contemporary historians of other events may happen to supply.

The year of the death of Athanasius is uncertain; and it may even have been in his successor's time that Giles received his schismatical dignity from Clement V. Gregory, the second of that name,[2] was the next occupier of the Chair of S. Mark. One might have thought that the declining state of Christianity in his Diœcese, the general corruption of manners, and the avarice of too many Christians, would have precluded him from giving any attention to more frivolous pursuits. But he possibly resided at Constantinople, and employed himself in the intrigues and schisms of the Court. However this may be, one Theodore, who is called Bishop of Mesopotamia, and who, it appears, neglected the Feasts of the Ecclesiastical year, and did not observe the Wednesday and Friday Fasts, when a Festival fell upon them, received an admonitory poem in Greek Iambics from Gregory of Alexandria, which is still extant in the Vatican.[3] And this is the only action of that Patriarch which is known to us.

Gregory II., Patr. LXVIII. After A.D. 1307. A.M. 1023.

[1] Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* 5, 1214. Le Quien, iii. 1143.

[2] Le Quien ii. 497.

[3] Asseman, B.O. i. 602.

The successor of John of Moniet Koufis was another John[1]; during whose Patriarchate a severe affliction befel the Christians. *John IX., Patr. lxxxi.* A.D. 1321.

In one day the whole of the churches in the territory of Cairo were destroyed by the Mahometans: the cause which led to this calamity is unknown.[2]

Gregory also was succeeded by a Patriarch of the same name. A miracle,[3] which is said to have occurred in his household, ascertains, within a few years, his date. In the meantime, Benjamin of Democrad[4] had succeeded John, and himself been succeeded by Peter. Of these Patriarchs we know nothing more than the names. The successor of Peter was Mark[5] of Kelioub. In his time the Christians were exposed to another severe persecution. The stringent laws which had been made against them in the time of John of Moniet Koufis had, it appears, somewhat fallen into disuse; and the Jacobites not only availed themselves of the liberty which they enjoyed, but carried it to a pitch of licentiousness. Their manners were beyond measure dissolute; they at first scandalised, and then corrupted the Infidels by their evil example, particularly in the use of wine; they insulted those with whom they were offended: many possessed Mahometan slaves as their concubines; and, as if to shew open contempt of the laws, the vestiary statutes were openly despised and violated. In this miserable state of things, they were nevertheless attentive to external rites and pomp; and the churches in Cairo possessed considerable landed property round that city. Complaints of the wealth thus acquired by the Ecclesiastics reached the ears of the Emirs: a survey was ordered; and the church-lands were found to amount to fifty thousand acres. Shortly afterwards, a Christian, employed in

Gregory III. Patr. LXIX. Before A.D. 1354. A.M. 1070.

Benjamin II. Patr. lxxxii. A.D. 1327.

Peter V., Patr. lxxxiii. A.D. 1340.

Mark IV., Patr. lxxxiv. A.D. 1348 *

Demoralisation of the Jacobites.

Twelfth persecution.

[1] Wansleb. p. 328. Le Quien, ii. 498. Sollerius, p. 101*. Alex. Catal.

[2] Makrizi, § 559.

[3] The Blessed Virgin is said to have presented a golden coin to a domestic of Gregory, in return for his having sung in her honour a hymn, appointed by Callistus, Patriarch of Constantinople, but forbidden by his successor, Philotheus. Callistus was removed from the Patriarchate in 1354. Nicol. Bulgar. quoted in Nicol. Papadopoli, Prænot. Mystagog. 6, 9, p. 163. Le Quien, ii. 498, and i. 302.

[4] Wansleb. p. 328. Le Quien, ii. 498. Sollerius, p. 101*. Alex. Catal.

[5] Wansleb. p. 328. Le Quien, ii. 498. Sollerius, p. 101*. Alex. Catal.

* This was the date of Peter V.'s death: Mark was possibly consecrated in the following year.

the Divan (for the law restricting those offices to Mussulmans had shared the fate of the others,) attracted so much notice from the magnificence of his equipment, in passing the Mosque at Cairo which was known by the name of Elzahar, that public indignation could not be controlled. The Emirs met; and it was unanimously resolved that the ancient laws should be put in practice, with the addition, it would appear, of some more severe regulations. It was ordered that it should, for the future, be illegal for any Christian to build, or repair, a church, monastery, or cell; to teach his children the Koran, or (which was far more mischievous,) to prevent it, if it were desired by his Mahometan neighbours; to refuse shelter, for three nights, to any Mussulman, in a church or monastery; to give the usual Mahometan names or surnames; to use Arabic characters in deeds; to possess a Mahometan slave; to bury the dead with a public procession; to ride on horseback, or use saddles; and to wear the same garments or turbans as the Mussulmans. Adultery with a Mahometan woman was made capital.[1] The Divine Offices were to be chanted in a low voice; the use of bells, or rather of Hagiosidera, or wooden clappers,[2] prohibited; a Christian meeting a Mussulman was to yield the path to him; the exercise of the medical profession was forbidden. There were two laws, however, which must have been useful in checking the frequent apostacies occasioned by the desire of obtaining a lucrative employment in the Divan. The one forbade any apostate to return to the bosom of his family, until he should have converted all to the faith of Mahomet; the other declared that no one who had been a Christian, even should he apostatise, should be capable of exercising any office in the Divan.

Popular commotions in Cairo.

However severe these laws might be, the fury of the populace far outran them. A general attack was made on all the Christians in Cairo: for a month their lives and property were in danger; the magistrates could hardly curb the mob; and water was procured only with great difficulty, the supply from the Nile being stopped.

[1] This persecution is described by Makrizi, § 560—582.

[2] These are described by Wansleb. p. 59. The only bell, properly speaking, in use in the Coptic Church is a small one in the Monastery of S. Antony: it is said to have been presented by a Frank.

Christianity suffered as severe a blow at this time as even at the conquest of Egypt. Apostacies were innumerable: in one day, in the Patriarch's native city, Kelioub, four hundred and fifty professed Mahometanism; in other parts of Egypt and of the Thebais, there were multitudes who denied the Faith; churches everywhere fell, or were changed into mosques; and it almost seemed as if the very name of Christianity were about to expire in the Diœcese of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril. At this epoch we are deprived of the guidance of Makrizi, whose history terminates here. General apostacy.

Peter, in the midst of these calamities, governed the Jacobite Communion fifteen years,[1] and was succeeded by John, a native of Damascus. In this Patriarch, the Chronicle of Abu'lberkat ceases; and it is therefore probable that he lived while John occupied that dignity.[2] The succeeding Patriarchs are known from a list written, in different hands and at different times, on the margin of a MS. which Wansleb brought from Egypt, and deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, and from the Catalogue we procured from Alexandria. *John X., Patr. lxxxv.* A.D. 1363. Niphon, Patr. LXX. Before A.D 1367. A.M. 1083.

The denial of the Faith appears to have prevailed, in a greater degree, as might be expected, among the Jacobites than among the Catholics. To Gregory III., though in what year is unknown, Niphon was appointed successor.[3]

SECTION XXV.

CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA.

In the meantime another effort was made by the Latin Church for the relief of the East. Urban V. pressed on the expedition with a zeal to which the apathy of the European potentates ill responded. Fair promises were given by many: effectual assistance by scarcely one. Yet if the zeal of Peter de Lusignan, Capture of Alexandria. Crusade of Peter of Cyprus:

[1] Le Quien, in his Index, (p. xx.) corrects Renaudot's (p. 610) and his own (ii. 499) mistake,—1365 for 1363.

[2] Wansleb. p. 328. Le Quien, ii. 498. Sollerius, p. 102*. Alex. Catal.

[3] The name is known by an Epistle of Urban V. written, in 1367, to Philotheus of Constantinople; Niphon of Alexandria; and Lazarus of Jerusalem. Rainald. s. a.

King of Cyprus, or Peter Thomas, titular Patriarch of Constantinople and Cardinal of the Crusade, could have found imitators, the consequences to Christendom might have been very different. The Crusaders rendezvoused at Venice; but the delay which had been occasioned by the efforts made by the King of Cyprus to obtain more succour had wearied them out, and that Prince sailed on his expedition with but two galleys. Arrived at Rhodes, the Prince of Antioch, his brother, whom he had left Regent of Cyprus, brought fresh troops, and the Master of the Hospitallers furnished one hundred knights The zeal and devotion which animated the soldiers of the Cross was remarkable: the Legate, employed in celebrating Mass, preaching, and hearing confessions, hardly allowed himself time to eat or to sleep. Several who had not confessed for twenty years, now received absolution; and the day before sailing the whole of the nobility and the knights solemnly communicated. The armament now consisted of a hundred sail; ten thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. When at sea, the King declared his intention of attacking Alexandria.

piety of the Crusaders.

A.D. 1365.

The Sultan of Egypt was at this time Schaaban, the twenty-second of the Mameluke dynasty; a dynasty which had not subsisted one hundred and twenty years. The Christian fleet anchored before Alexandria on the second of October, at noon; and the attack was deferred until the next day. The Infidels lined the coast, and passed the night on the shore; but, on the following day, after a short resistance, they retired within the walls. The Crusaders advanced to storm the city; the Infidels, after an hour's combat, deserted the place, and retreated on Cairo. Not a Christian was killed in the storm; but many of the Infidels had perished from the mangonels and bows of the victorious army.

Alexandria is taken,

Having taken possession of the place, the King held a council of war to determine its fate. He himself and the Legate were anxious to garrison it; but the Commander of the Hospitallers and the English knights were of a contrary opinion. They represented that the Infidels still held a portion of the city, divided from the rest by a branch of the river; that the power of Schaaban was great; that as soon as the capture of Alexandria was known, a vast army would march upon it from Cairo;

that their own forces were small, and quite insufficient to garrison the fortifications. These considerations prevailed; the city was pillaged, and an immense booty collected from it; and on the fourth day after it had surrendered, the Crusaders, to the bitter regret of the King and the Legate, set sail, and returned to Cyprus. and abandoned.

SECTION XXVI.

NIPHON AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Niphon and his successors.

The civil wars of Cantacuzene and Palæologus introduced the Turks into Europe; and John Palæologus, enclosed by the Infidels, and with an empire contracted to the size of a county, saw that his only hope lay in Rome and the re-union. Negociations for this purpose were carried on; and the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem were included in the proposals. It would appear that the Throne of Antioch was vacant. The letter of Urban V. is expressed with cautious brevity:—"To the A.D. 1367. prudent persons, Philotheus, Niphon, and Lazarus, governing the Patriarchal Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, grace in this life, whereby they may obtain glory in the future." But this attempt, like so many others, came to nothing, although, two years later, Palæologus visited Rome in person, and having made the Western Confession of Faith, was received by the Pope as a Catholic. The great schism in the Western Church turned, shortly afterwards, the thoughts of the lovers of peace into another channel.

To Niphon succeeded Mark,—to Mark, Nicholas,—and to Nicholas, Gregory[1]; and with this brief and unsatisfactory notice of names the reader must be contented: history can supply nothing further.

Mark III., Patr. LXXI. A.D. ? Nicholas III. Patr. LXXII. A.D. ? Gregory IV., Patr. LXXIII. A.D. ?

And the case is the same with the Jacobites. John was succeeded by Gabriel, previously Archimandrite of the Monastery of Moharrak; Gabriel by Matthew; and Matthew by another

Gabriel IV., Patr. lxxxvi. A.D. ? *Matthew I., Patr. lxxxvii.* A.D. 1378.

[1] These names are only known from the Cairo Catalogue. Le Quien, ii. 499.

Gabriel V., Patr. lxxxviii. Before A.D. 1411.

Gabriel,[1] who, in the year 1411, emended the Sacramentary of his Communion, and caused the revised edition to be published with Patriarchal authority.

More than a century has thus afforded us materials for only a few pages: Patriarchs, whose actions and doctrine are known to God alone, have been necessarily dismissed with the brief enunciation of a name; Catholics and heretics have received the same notice. But we now enter on a more interesting period; and are to relate how the Church of Alexandria was affected by the Council of Florence.

But before we do this, we will devote a few lines to one to whom we are so much indebted, the historian Makrizi.—Ahmed the son of Ali the son of Abd-al-Kader the son of Mahomet the son of Ibrahim the son of Mahomet the son of Temim the son of Abd-alsamad,—such are his complete titles,—usually known as Taki-eddin Al-Makrizi, from Baalbec, or Makriz, the seat of his family, was born at Cairo, in 1364, whence he is also known by the title of Misri.—Educated under the best doctors, he hesitated awhile between the sect of Abu-Hanifa, and that of the Safeites; but at length embraced the latter. He frequently made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was much esteemed in Cairo. He was several times Cadi; he filled the important office of Commissioner of the Granaries; he was preacher in the Mosch of Amrou, Imaum in that of Hakem; and Professor of Traditions in the Academy of Moawiyah. In all these offices his integrity and uprightness were much praised. Having accompanied Melec-Alnacer to Damascus, in 1407, he remained there for some years as Professor; but at length, resigning his office, he returned to Cairo, where he devoted himself to the study of history. His knowledge was, even in his lifetime, proverbial; he composed a number of works on jurisprudence, history, theology, and topography; and his house was the resort of the learned, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Jew. His history, which would form about one hundred pages such as that which the reader is perusing, is little more than a catalogue of names

[1] All that is known of these Patriarchs is related by Wansleb. p. 329: by Renaudot, pp. 610, 11; by Le Quien, ii. 499, 500; by Sollerius, p. 102*; and by the Alexandrian Catalogue.

and events, but it is impartial, (generally speaking) accurate, and shews great research, more especially in the dogmas of heretics. Notwithstanding this character, the completely Mahometan tone of the work gives it a kind of amusing *naïveté*,—as where he tells us that "Gabriel, with whom be peace! spread his wing over the MESSIAH:" and again, where, after saying that the Nestorians adore our LORD as Perfect GOD and SON of GOD, adds,—"GOD is far more exalted than they imagine!" Makrizi died at Cairo, in 1441.[1]

SECTION XXVII.

PHILOTHEUS AND THE UNION.

PHILOTHEUS filled the chair of S. Mark when the declining state of the Eastern Empire, now almost bounded by the walls of Constantinople, rendered John Palæologus earnestly desirous of the reunion. The council of Basle, which had so nearly vindicated the dignity of the Episcopate from the usurpations of Rome, was forward to consummate this great work, and an embassy from the Emperor was received in it with the greatest honour. A deputation was appointed to treat on the union of the Churches: and the first subject for discussion was the choice of a place where the Œcumenical Council should be held. The ambassadors insisted on Constantinople, the deputies on Basle; and a compromise was finally adopted, by which it was agreed, that the ambassadors on their return should use their utmost endeavours to induce their master to acquiesce in the choice of Basle, as the Western Church was already assembled there; that if this could not be, Ancona, Milan, or some other ultra-montane city should be selected, should the Emperor prefer Italy; if not, either Vienna or Bude: that Palæologus himself, with such Patriarchs and Prelates as were able to attend, should be

Philotheus and the Union.

Philotheus, Patr. LXXIV. Before A.D. 1439. A.M. 1153.

[1] Makrizi's life is related by Dr. Wetzer, in his Preface, whence this account is chiefly taken; by De Sacy in his Chrestomathia, i., and by Hamaker, in his Specimen Catal. Codic. MSS. Oriental.

personally present; that the Fathers should translate the Council to the determined city, within a month after they should hear of the choice; that the emperor, and all his suite, to the number of seven hundred, should be supported at the expense of the Council; that the sum of eight thousand ducats should be paid by the same body to defray the expenses of the Greek convocation, which, held at Constantinople, should choose deputies for Basle; that a sufficient sum of money, and force of men, should be dispatched to provide for the defence of the imperial city, during the absence of the Emperor: and finally, that the Greek Patriarchs should be received with the same honours as they would have claimed before the schism.

Negociations at Basle.

These very liberal terms, terms which were alone sufficient, considering the circumstances, to render the memory of the Council of Basle illustrious, were no doubt partly dictated by the peculiar state of the West. Even already had those disputes arisen between the Fathers and Eugenius, which afterwards terminated in an open rupture; and the latter had already tampered, though as yet unsuccessfully, with the Emperor of Constantinople. Both parties dispatched their galleys to conduct that monarch, who had by this time consented that the Council should be held in the West: those of the Pope anticipated, by a few days, those of the Council: and on those few days the future fate of the Western Church probably depended: another instance of the trifling causes by which Providence brings to pass the most important events. Had the galleys of the Council been the first to reach Constantinople, it is probable that the Emperor would have embarked in them: had the Emperor embarked in them, he would probably have been won by the Council; had he been won by the Council, Eugenius would probably have been worsted: and the relief of the Episcopate from the usurpations of Rome might, by rendering it easier to remove corruptions, have prevented the great schism of the next century.

Contest between the Council and the Pope.

But God ordered it otherwise: the Emperor trusted himself to the Pope's admiral (who had orders, if possible, to sink the galleys of his rivals;) and the rupture immediately became evident. The Council summoned Eugenius to its tribunal: the Pope, by an artifice, convened a Council at Ferrara; Chris-

tendom looked on with astonishment; the legates of the See of Rome were busy in inviting the attendance of Foreign Prelates; the Fathers of Basle declared Eugenius contumacious; they were to be dispirited, neither by the death of their great protector Sigismund, nor by the departure of Cardinal Julian, their President, for Ferrara; the Council at the latter city opened with the insignificant number of twenty-three Prelates; the ambassadors of the Emperor and other Kings remained at Basle: Eugenius was suspended from all authority: the two Councils mutually declared each other schismatical: and that of Basle suspended the Pope from all jurisdiction.

Things were in this state when the Emperor and his train made that gorgeous entrance into Venice, so graphically described by Syropulus, so pompously by Gibbon. Twenty-one eminent Prelates, besides the Patriarch of Constantinople accompanied the Greek Prince: Mark of Ephesus, Dionysius of Sardis, and Bessarion of Nicæa were the spokesmen of their party.

The union was unpopular throughout the Eastern Church: the voyage was both troublesome and dangerous: and these were probably the reasons why the Patriarchs of the other Eastern Thrones declined to appear in person. Philotheus constituted Antony of Heraclea his legate: Dorotheus of Antioch made choice of Isidore of Kieff, Metropolitan of All the Russias, who, however, was not present at the opening of the Council: and Joachim of Jerusalem entrusted his subscription to Mark of Ephesus and Dorotheus of Monembasia.

A.D. 1438. The Emperor arrives in Italy.

The Emperor was received by the Pope with great honour: and that Pontiff and Joseph of Constantinople met nearly as equals: and in the Council, the north and south sides of the church were allotted to the two nations. After the first session of the two Churches, there was a delay of six months; it being still doubtful whether the Fathers of Basle, or the influence of Eugenius would prevail. Gradually, the former were overborne, to the misfortune of the West, by the latter: the union was pressed on with vigour, and finally, on the sixth of July, 1439, in the tenth session of the Council of Florence, the decree of Union was signed. The vicars of Philotheus were the first, on the Greek side, to subscribe; the Patriarch of Constantinople

The False Union. July 6, 1439.

worn out with age and infirmities, having departed this life during the Council.

John XI. Patr. lxxxix. Before A.D. 1440.

It was necessary to remind the reader of the progress and event of this Synod: but we are not concerned to dwell upon it. It seems to have had no effect at Alexandria, beyond that of making the Jacobites desirous of a nominal union with Rome. John, the eleventh of that name, now presided over this Communion: and a few days after the departure of the Greeks from Florence, his emissary arrived there.

This was John, Abbat of S. Antony, who was introduced to the Council, and in a congregation in which Eugenius presided, he stated the subject of his mission. A decree was made in the fourth session after the departure of the Greeks for the reunion of the Jacobites: and the magnificent terms in which it was conceived were but ill answered by the futile character of the negociation. And had it been real, what Communion can that be, to which two rival Patriarchs of the same See are received?

False Union of the Abyssinians.

The emperor of Abyssinia dispatched to Rome[1] Nicodemus, the superior of the Abyssinian Convent at Jerusalem, which he had in part endowed: and expressed his intention of personally paying his compliments to Eugenius. The name of this prince was Zara Jacob: and although this deputation had no immediate effect, its ultimate consequences will be found to possess considerable importance and interest. For by these means, and by the arrival of one or two Europeans in Ethiopia, a party in communion with the Latin Church began to be formed there. It is said that a Venetian painter, by name Francisco de Branco Leon, was one of the most strenuous early supporters of the Western Faith; and Abyssinian writers add, that he was confuted in the King's presence by a Priest of their own nation, named George. About this time idolatry was made a capital crime in the empire of Abyssinia.

Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Cyzicum, a stanch supporter of the union, was on the return of the Emperor, elevated to the Œcumenical Throne. He found his Diœcese in the greatest

[1] Bruce iii, 99. *seqq.* The continuator of Fleury seems to have been perplexed by the character of Zara Jacob's emissary: for he merely says of him, "qui se disoit abbé des Ethiopiens," xxii. 352.

confusion: his Suffragans avoided his Communion as that of a heretic: the city of Constantinople, which now comprised the whole Eastern Empire, was torn by divisions, and the three other Patriarchs were loud in their exclamations against the Council. The conduct of Philotheus cannot be justified. When he received the news of the union, he wrote to Eugenius in the most flattering terms:[1] dignifying him by the name of most holy, most religious, most blessed, most just father, terrestrial angel, the good shepherd of the good flock. Yet none joined subsequently more loudly in the outcry against Metrophanes. In conjunction with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, he addressed a letter to the Eastern Church, which appears to have been written at Jerusalem. In it they profess to have received from the Metropolitan of Cæsarea tidings of the invasion of the Throne of Constantinople by Metrophanes the Matricide: they brand him by this title, as if the union with the Latins, promoted by him, had been a death-blow to his mother the Church of the East: they assert that he had cruelly persecuted the enemies, and extravagantly rewarded the friends of the Council of Florence; that he had created unworthy Metropolitans and Bishops in the churches of his obedience; that scandals innumerable were the consequence; that the Metropolitan of Cæsarea had requested from themselves a synodal condemnation of these unholy proceedings; that they, therefore, suspended all Bishops and Priests so consecrated and entrusted, from the exercise of all and every of their functions, till their consecration and election, being canonically examined, should be found legitimate and valid. And they constitute the said Metropolitan, in an uncanonical and most unusual manner, corrector of all the abuses which may have arisen from these sources. The Epistle is dated in April, 1441:[2] and some time afterwards, they addressed another to the Emperor. This s a curious composition: it begins synodically, in the plural number: the writer, whom we may suppose to have been Philotheus, then proceeds, in the singular, to state the substance of his former letters to Pope Eugenius, and to protest that he had

Conduct of Philotheus after the Union;

his rejection of it.

[1] Conc. Labb. xiii. 1174. Cont. Fleury, xxii. 352.

[2] Leo Allatius, De Perp. Cons. iii. 4. 1. pp. 938. seqq.

never received the Council further than as it was agreeable to the Œcumenical Synods, and to ancient tradition and discipline.[1]

Aug. A.D. 1443.

Metrophanes finding his efforts for the good of the Church thus misrepresented, and his own character maligned, abdicated his dignity, and shortly afterwards died of grief, in the interval, as it would appear, between the composition of the two Epistles to which we have just referred.

The Grecian Empire continued, if it were possible, to decline. A league, by the efforts of Eugenius, was formed against the Turks: a peace sworn with Amurath, was, by the counsel of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, perfidiously broken: and this treachery was deservedly followed by the loss of the great battle of Warna: in which Amurath, imagining that his troops were flying, called on Jesus Christ to avenge the dishonour done to His Name by the ill faith of His worshippers. John Palæologus, perceiving that the ruin of his empire was at hand, and that no succours were to be expected from the West, determined to yield to the popular outcry, and to surrender the union.

Athanasius IV. Patr. LXXV.

Of Philotheus we hear nothing further: for the pretended Council of Constantinople, about A.D. 1450, where he is said to have been present, is a palpable forgery. Of Athanasius,[2] his successor, we know nothing beyond the name. It is uncertain which of these two Patriarchs was in possession of the Chair of S. Mark, when the victorious army of Mahomet put an end, by the capture of Constantinople, to the Eastern Empire. By this event, Alexandria acquired a great accession of power: her Patriarchs were less exposed to foreign influence, and therefore better chosen than those of Constantinople, and the secular power, by which much additional importance had been given to the Œcumenical Throne, was now at an end.

[1] Leo Allatius, De Perp. Cons. iii. 4. 1. pp. 938. seqq.

[2] This name is only known from the Cairo Catalogue.

SECTION XXVIII.

FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THE Jacobite Patriarch was now Matthew.[1] We shall hence-forward find our attention, in treating of this Communion, principally directed to the state of Ethiopia: where a long, and, alas! bloody struggle was soon about to commence between the Roman and Coptic Churches. The enterprising spirit of the Portuguese was attracted by the report of a Christian Prince in Africa, whose dominions were said to extend from the East to the West sea; and Prince Henry, the great promoter of discovery, dispatched Pedro de Covilhãa, and Alphonso de Payva, as his ambassadors to this Prince. They went to Alexandria, thence to Cairo; and thence to Aden: and here they separated. Covilhãa sailed to India; and thence returning to Cairo, heard of the death of his companion, whom he had hoped to meet. He was, however, met by two Jews, emissaries of the Emperor, with one of whom he went to Ormuz in the Persian gulf, and thence by himself entered the dominions of that monarch, whose name was Alexander.

First interference of the Portuguese.

Matthew II. Patr. &c. Before 1454.*

Projects of the Infante Henry of Portugal.

It was the state-policy of the Abyssinians to permit the return of no stranger who had once visited their country.[2] Covilhãa, therefore, revisited Portugal no more: but, if he could forget the land of his forefathers, he had no reason to complain of his own lot. He was married into a high family, was distinguished by the favour of the monarch, and was preferred to several important offices. He kept up a communication with the king of Portugal, who for his part, determined to obtain a further knowledge of the kingdom of Abyssinia. But we must

Covilhãa in Portugal.

[1] Wansleb. p. 329. Sollerius, p. 102*. Le Quien, ii. 501. Renaudot, p. 611. Alex. Catalog.

[2] Bruce, Travels, iii. 134, 147.

* This date is known from the Title of a MS. mentioned by Asseman (See B.O. ii. 384.) said to have been written in the year 1766 of the Greeks, = A.D. 1454.) Ignatius being Patriarch of Antioch, Matthew of Alexandria, and Basil Bar-Maodan Maphrian.

for the present return to Alexandria, having a little anticipated the course of our history, for it was not till about the year 1490 that Covilhãa arrived in Abyssinia.

Successions. Mark III. Patr. LXXVI. A.D. ?

To Athanasius succeeded Mark,[1] the third of that name; of whom we know nothing further. There appears, at this time, to have been a diminution in the power and influence of the Jacobites; for Matthew, whom we just now mentioned as their

Gabriel VI. Patr. xci.*

Patriarch, is said to have been the last, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, who consecrated the Chrism.[2] Whence this depression arose, it is difficult to say: the turbulent rule of the Mameluke Princes must have diminished the number of the Christians of both Churches: and the heresies had not, as the Catholics, the Communion of three other Patriarchates on which to fall back. It is also possible that the Turkish Sultan Selim, who, in 1517, stormed Cairo, hanged the gallant Tuman Bey, the last of the Mameluke Sultans, and annexed Egypt to his own dominions, was desirous of depressing a sect whom the native princes had favoured; and of supporting a Church acknowledged in his own city of Constantinople. So curiously were the relative positions of Jacobites and Catholics reversed, since the first foreign conquest of Egypt.

Matthew was succeeded by Gabriel, Archimandrite of the Abbey of S. Antony,[3] and possibly the same who had been sent to the Council of Florence; the difference of the name being no difficulty. And his successor was Chail surnamed Semelouti.[4]

Chail VI. Patr. xcii.

Philotheus, Pat. LXXVII. Before 1523. A.M. 1239.

In the Catholic Church, Philotheus,[5] or Theophilus,[6] succeeded Mark. He, whether from motives of policy, or from a real desire of union, wrote to Adrian VI., who then filled the Chair of S. Peter, with professions of acknowledging his superiority. But it does not appear that these negotiations had any effect.

[1] This name also is only known from the Cairo Catalogue.

[2] This is related on the credit of Bernati, the Jesuit Missionary. Sollerius, p. 102*.

[3] Wansleb. p. 329. Sollerius, p. 102*. Le Quien, ii. 501. Alex. Catalog.

[4] Iid. ibid.

[5] Le Quien, 801.

[6] Le Quien, ii. 501. Rainald. calls him Theophilus.

* —Wanslebius, 319. Renaudot, 611. Alex. Cat.

BOOK VI.

FROM

THE FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE,

A.D. 1490.

TO

THE DEATH OF HIEROTHEUS,

A.D. 1846.

Ἐν δὲ μυχοῖσι
Βόσκοντ' ἠπείροιο πανύστατοι Αἰθιοπῆες,
Αὐτῷ ἐπ' ὠκεανῷ, πυμάτης παρὰ τέμπεα Κέρνης·
Τῶν πάρος αἰθαλέων Βλεμύων ἀνέχουσι κολῶναι,
Ἔνθεν πιοτάτοιο κατέρχεται ὕδατα Νείλου.

Dionys. Perieget.

SECTION I.

AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

On the death of Alexander, Emperor of Ethiopia, he was succeeded by Naod, his younger brother. The principal danger which at this time threatened the kingdom was to be apprehended from the Moors of Adel, a powerful Mahometan nation, between whom and the Ethiopians there was always a hostile feeling, often open war. He compelled them to accept an honourable peace; but the event shewed that they were held in restraint by the terror of Naod's name, rather than by any other motive.[1] A.D. 1495.

Death of Naod. A.D. 1508.

On his death, Helena, his stepmother, and the Abuna Mark procured the election of his young son, David, a child of eleven years old. Queen Helena became Regent; and seems to have conducted the government on wise principles. She was desirous of peace with Adel: her own nation was Moorish, though she had early embraced the Christian religion; and she saw that, besides the danger to be apprehended to Abyssinia from a Mahometan war, it was to the commercial interest of the two nations that a peace should be preserved between them.

Helena, Regent.

Mission of Matthew to Portugal:

Covilhãa was still detained in Abyssinia; and it was doubtless by his advice that Helena turned her thoughts to the possibility of an alliance with Portugal. She made choice for her ambassador of one Matthew, an Armenian merchant about the Court, and a man not only of trust, but well acquainted with the character of the people with whom he had to deal. The letter with which he was charged, after a complimentary opening, requests the King of Portugal to enter into an alliance with her against the Mahometans generally, and proposes an intermarriage

[1] The authorities for this section are Tellez, Francisco de Alvarez, cap. 4, seq.; La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, book iii.; Geddes, Church History of Ethiopia, p. 45, seq.; Bruce, Travels, iii., 168, seq.; Ludolf. Hist. ix. 14.

in the two royal families; but the ambassador was further charged with a private commission, and that, if we may believe the Portuguese historians, of a very important character, being no less than an offer of the third part of the empire in return for the assistance which the Portuguese were to furnish.

his misfortunes.

Matthew, however, was most unfortunate. He sailed for India, that being the route by which communications between Portugal and Abyssinia were carried on: was thrown into prison on landing, by the local Portuguese governor, as a spy; and, though magnificently received by Albuquerque, the Viceroy at Goa, allowed to remain in India three years before he was sent on to Portugal in a spice-fleet. Even then he was insulted and ill-treated by the captains; his arrival, however, at Lisbon, produced a very favourable change. The King of Portugal received him with the greatest joy, threw his maltreaters into prison, and only released them on his intercession.

War between the Emperor and Maffudi.

In the meantime, the kingdom of Abyssinia suffered greatly, not from Mahomet, King of Adel, who still observed the peace concluded with him by Naod, but from Maffudi, a powerful Mahometan chieftain; who had spread the terror of his name along the Western Coast of the Red Sea. He had received, in return for the number of slaves whom he had sent to Mecca, a banner of green silk, and a tent of black velvet, embroidered with gold; the greatest honour which could be bestowed on the supporter of the creed of the False Prophet. This man was in the habit of making an incursion into Abyssinia every year, choosing Lent as his time; and having at length induced Mahomet to renounce his league with the Christians, and to unite his forces with his own, the allied princes in one year slew, or carried captive, nineteen thousand Christians.

The murmurs of his people determined David, in spite of the remonstrances of his grandmother, to take the field himself: he had not a general who had not been defeated by the Mahometans, and he hoped that a royal commander might inspire the troops with fresh courage. A numerous body of troops flocked to his standard: he advanced by forced marches on the capital of Adel, before the allies considered his army of sufficient importance to be opposed. By a prudent partition of his forces into two bodies, David drove the enemy into a dangerous defile, where he

resolved to attack them, with superior forces, on the following day. That night, Mahomet, by the advice of Maffudi, made his escape, and the latter chieftain, on the succeeding morning, sent a challenge to the Christian army, offering to meet any champion in single combat. With the leave of David the challenge was accepted by Andreas, a monk of considerable eminence for learning, affability, and courage. He struck Maffudi's head from his body with a double-edged sword: the Christians seized the opportunity, and made a fierce attack upon the Infidels; the Mahometans were routed, and pursued as far as the gates of the first market-town of Adel: the green standard of Mahomet was taken, and David and Andreas were welcomed back with the triumphant exclamations of a grateful people. The island of Zeyla, in the mouth of the Red Sea, was taken by the Portuguese armament on the same day that Maffudi was defeated and slain.

July, A.D. 1516. Defeat and death of Maffudi.

We now return to Portugal. The ambassador Matthew was sent back in the next India-fleet, and was accompanied by three ambassadors to the Court of Abyssinia, one of whom, however, died on the voyage. The Portuguese were well received by the Governor of Arkeeko, near to which place they landed, and were cordially welcomed by the Monks of the Convent of Bisoim, distant about twenty-four miles.[1] A few days subsequently, the Baharnagash, or governor of that part of Abyssinia, had an interview with the Portuguese General, in which it was determined that an embassy, headed by Rodrigo de Lima, should set forward to the Court of the Emperor.

Reception of Matthew in Portugal.

April, A.D. 1520.

It was unfortunate for this little company that King David was in the southern part of his dominions, while they had landed in the north. Mountains, ravines, forests, underwood, and wild beasts opposed their progress, and it was not till after a painful journey of six months that they at length reached the head-quarters of that monarch, now encamped on the borders of the kingdom of Adel. Matthew had been carried off, on the journey, by an epidemic disease. The history of this expedition has been written by Father Alvarez, chaplain to De Lima; but some doubt is attached to his strict veracity. He affirms that the embassy was detained five years before it was dismissed. Even then some of its members were detained; but Rodrigo de

Legation of De Lima.

[1] Bruce, iii. 168—182.

Lima, together with an Abyssinian plenipotentiary named Zaga Zaab, a Monk by profession, sailed from Masuah for India, at the latter end of April, 1526.

Letters of David to Pope Clement VII. and Manuel.

Manuel, King of Portugal, had been succeeded by John; and to him David addressed a letter, which is still extant; as well as to the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII. In these he describes himself[1] as "the King, at whose name lions tremble, called by the grace of God, the Frankincense of the Virgin, the son of King David, the son of Solomon, the son of the Hand of Mary, the son of Naod by the flesh, and by grace the son of SS. Peter and Paul." These epistles shew the friendly disposition of David towards the Western Powers.

A.D. 1525.

War with Adel.

On the death of Helena, David renewed the war against the kingdom of Adel. But a terrible chief now arose amongst the Infidels, Mahomet, surnamed Gragne, "the left-handed."[2] By him David was constantly defeated, and hunted like a wild beast from city to city; the churches of Amhara were laid waste by fire and sword, and at length the brave Andreas fell gloriously, fighting in the sight of his monarch for his country and for his faith.

SECTION II.

INTERRUPTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SUCCESSION IN ABYSSINIA.

Interruption of the Alexandrian succession in Abyssinia.

TWELVE years had elapsed since the departure of the Portuguese ambassador with Zaga Zaab.[3] The Court of Lisbon was now comparatively indifferent as to the friendship of the Emperor of Abyssinia, since the Portuguese no longer passed through his territories on their way to their Indian possessions, having learned by experience that the passage round the Cape was not so dangerous as it had been long imagined. It would appear that since the conquest of Cairo by Selim, no communication had passed between

[1] Geddes, 49—75.
[2] Bruce, iii. 187, 8. Tellez, 113, 376. La Croze, 114.
[3] Bruce, iii. 192.

the Coptic Patriarch and the Catholic of Abyssinia. To Chail VI. had succeeded John XII. and John XIII.[1]: it was probably the former, who, during the successes of Gragne, presided in Egypt. In the Catholic Church,[2] Gregory V. had been the successor of Philotheus, and himself was succeeded by Joachim.[3]

John XII., Patr. xciii.
John XIII., Patr. xciv.
Gregory V., Patr. LXXVIII.
Joachim, Patr. LXXIX.
Before A.D. 1561. A.M. 1377.

With this Patriarch, a little more light is shed over the history of the Church: we emerge from the darkness of the two or three last centuries, and tread on firmer and firmer ground. Towards the beginning of his Patriarchate, poison was administered to him by some Mahometan enemy[4]: he is said to have made the sign of the Cross, and to have received no harm. His Patriarchate must have lasted many years: he is said to have attained the age of one hundred and twenty; and for the last eighty to have abstained from flesh.

King David, as we have seen, was not averse from the Roman faith; and finding the Abuna Mark unable, from age and infirmities, to manage the affairs of the Church, he prevailed on him to consecrate João Bermudez, one of the Portuguese who had been detained in Abyssinia, his successor. By this method, the King probably hoped to obtain a warmer interest in the friendship of the European princes, from whom alone he could, as it appeared, hope for deliverance from Gragne. Bermudez signified his perfect acquiescence, if the Pope should allow of the scheme; he was accordingly ordained Abuna by Mark, and then determined on a journey to Rome, to obtain a ratification of the act from the Chair of S. Peter. The King had no objection to this journey: on the contrary, he ordered that as soon as his business at Rome was concluded, Bermudez should hasten to the Court of Lisbon, and discover what had become of the embassy dispatched so many years previously thither. Bermudez was well received by Pope Paul III., who not only ratified the appointment which he had received to the metropolitical Chair of Axum, but, in the plenitude of his power,[5] elevated him to the Patriarchate of Alexandria: a grievous act of schism. It was at this time felt

João Bermudez, Abuna of Axum,

raised by Pope Paul III. to the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

[1] Wansleb, p. 329. Sollerius, p. 102*. Renaudot, p. 611. Alex. Catal.

[2] Le Quien, 502.

[3] M. Crusius, (Turco Græc. 229,) who gives a fac-simile of Joachim's autograph; and p. 290.

[4] Nectarius, de Primatu, quoted by Le Quien, u.s.

[5] La Croze, 96.

by the Roman Court to be a matter of considerable importance, that Eastern nations should acknowledge the Primacy of S. Peter, which was called in question by the religious movement of the West: and it was doubtless owing to this feeling that the consecration of Bermudez, undoubtedly irregular, was so quietly acquiesced in by the Roman Pontiff. Bermudez, at a later period, composed a history of his own proceedings and adventures,[1] which is still extant, and which throws much light on the history of the times. From Rome he proceeded to Lisbon, where Zaga Zaab was, at his solicitation, thrown into prison on a charge of faithlessness to his master, in suffering the negociation for so long a time to be protracted. The chaplain Alvarez had, previously to this time, presented the letters of David to the Pope at Bologna, where the Emperor Charles V. then was: a well-timed act, though it appears to have had little influence on the Emperor. A violent illness detained Bermudez in Portugal for a year: he then embarked in the India fleet, and arrived in that country in 1538. Here he was received with the greatest honour both by the Viceroy and the Bishop of Goa:[2] but the death of the former threw another impediment in the way of his return to Abyssinia. For Don Stephen de Gama,[3] the succeeding Viceroy, was at first unwilling to give any assistance in the enterprise: till, at length, the magnificent accounts given by Bermudez of the wealth and power of David, tempted the indolence of that chief, and he not only gave orders for the preparation of an armament, but resolved to accompany the Patriarch in person.

Bermudez at Lisbon:

at Goa:

he returns to Ethiopia.

While these events were in progress, new calamities had befallen Abyssinia.[4] A Mahometan chief, named Mudgid, attacked and took the almost impregnable fortress of Geshen, in which the greater part of the royal family had taken refuge. These all fell victims to his fury; and David, having filled up the measure of his misfortunes, was shortly after summoned from the world.

A.D. 1540. Death of David.

[1] Printed at Lisbon, in 1565; translated into English by Purchas, and thence into French by La Croze, pp. 93—265.

[2] Goa was at this time only a Bishoprick: Funchal, since reduced to that rank, was then an Archbishoprick, and had the Primacy of All the Indies.

[3] La Croze, p. 101.

[4] Bruce, iii. 194.

Claudius, who succeeded him, was but eighteen years of age, but had been wisely and tenderly instructed by his mother, Sabel Wenghel, sometimes called Helena. The Mahometan chiefs entered into an alliance for the purpose of crushing this young prince; but Claudius, by a successful attack on one of the confederates, struck terror into the league, and, in a proportionate degree, elevated the hopes of his own subjects. He offered battle to the allies, which they declined; and, in the Easter of the following year, ensnared one of its most powerful chiefs into an ambuscade, and cut his army to pieces. Claudius. A.D. 1541.

Meanwhile Don Stephen de Gama and the Portuguese squadron had anchored in the Bay of Masuah; and in spite of the resistance of the Mahometan governor of Arkeeko, who boldly declared that the King of Adel was now Lord of all Ethiopia, they took that place, and sent the head of the Infidel as a present to Sabel Wenghel.

Men were now enrolled for the Abyssinian service; four hundred and fifty musqueteers were the complement allowed by the King of Portugal; and the difficulty lay in making a suitable selection, every one being anxious to have a share in the glory of the undertaking. Don Christopher de Gama, youngest brother of the Viceroy, was appointed commander: and Don Stephen, having received the blessing of Bermudez, stood out to sea, and sailed for India.[1] July 9, 1541.

SECTION III.

EXPEDITION OF CHRISTOPHER DE GAMA.

Don Christopher[2] began his march towards Dobarwa, the eastern entrance of Abyssinia: and met the Queen near that city. By her the Portuguese were received with the greatest kindness: and De Gama ordered one hundred of his men to attend her as her lifeguard. It was now evidently the interest of Expedition of Christopher de Gama.

[1] Geddes, pp. 124, 5. Bruce, iii. 203—206. La Croze, 102—112.

[2] Bruce, iii. 206—212. Geddes, 125—141. La Croze, 111—149. Tellez, 420, seq.

this Princess to form a junction with her son; and Gragne was as earnestly set on preventing it. The allied Portuguese and Abyssinians marched from Dobarwa, and made the best of their way to join Claudius: the heavy rains, however, much impeded their progress; and on Lady-day the Infidel army came up with them. In numbers, the Royal forces were superior; besides the four hundred and fifty musqueteers, the Queen commanded twelve thousand infantry, and a few worthless cavalry. Gragne had but five thousand foot: but then he had a thousand excellent horse, a few Turkish musqueteers, and a small train of artillery. And the inequality of numbers was more than compensated by the fact, that the men of Adel were well skilled in the use of firearms, an invention of which the Abyssinians knew practically nothing. The disposition which De Gama made of his troops, shews him to have been no less prudent than courageous. Gragne, in riding too near the Portuguese lines, for the purpose of reconnoitring, received a wound, which occasioned great confusion among the Moors, and might probably have ended in their defeat, had not Don Christopher, a few moments afterwards, suffered in a similar manner. No general engagement took place: but the Christian army had the honour of keeping the field. For some time Don Christopher remained in winter quarters; and Gragne obtained another body of a thousand cavalry, and increased his train of artillery, till it became the most formidable that had ever been seen in Ethiopia. Hearing that King Claudius was actually on his way from Dembea, to join the Queen, this chief resolved rather to risk a battle than to permit the junction to take place unopposed. To this end he drew up his forces before Don Christopher's camp, and by reproaches and insults induced that brave, but impatient general, to offer battle. The Queen and Bermudez sought their safety by flight: but De Gama gave orders that they should be pursued and brought back.

The allies give battle to the Mahometans; A.D. 1542. March 25.

and retain the field.

Second battle, Aug. 30, 1542.

The combat was maintained with the greatest obstinacy: and at first seemed to declare in favour of the Christians. But the Turkish artillery proved an over-match for Abyssinian courage: the Royal army was totally routed, and Don Christopher himself severely wounded. Against his will, he was put in a litter by his friends, and carried towards a place of safety in the company

of the Queen and the Patriarch. But night coming on, he declared his intention of remaining in a cave, in which his wounds were dressed; and as his companions could not alter his resolution, they were compelled to leave him. One or two of his servants remained by him: but the accounts of his death vary. It is certain, however, that he was overtaken and discovered by Gragne; that sooner or later, he was put to death by that tyrant; and that he was regarded by his friends, not altogether unjustly, as a Martyr.

the allies defeated:

death of Christopher de Gama.

SECTION IV.

JUNCTION WITH THE ROYAL FORCES.

After lying[1] some time conccaled in a place of great strength, called the Jews' mountain, the remains of the Queen's army took courage and effected a junction with the Royal forces. The Portuguese chose, in the place of Don Christopher, Alphonso Caldeyra, and on his death from an accident, Arius Dias, whose mother had been an Indian, commander of the musquetecrs. Discontent had now fortunately broke out in the camp of Gragne: his Turkish allies, the most formidable part of his forces, conceiving themselves neglected in the distribution of booty, had left him, and he was compelled to carry on the war with his own troops. The battle of Woggora, which took place in the November of this year, ended in the defeat of the Mahometans, and in the death of three among their principal chiefs; but the succeeding months were occupied by each army in ravaging the territory of the enemy.

Junction with the Royal Forces.

Caldeyra, General of the Portuguese:

battle of Woggora, Nov. 1542.

At length the two chiefs came in sight of each other; and, as neither were anxious to avoid battle, a general engagement followed. The Portuguese fought like tigers, in order to revenge the death of De Gama; and the presence of the King kept the Abyssinians to their duty. The centre of Gragne's army was

Feb. 10, 1543.

[1] Bruce, iii. 212—221. La Croze, 148—368. Geddes, 161, seq.

Second battle: total defeat of Gragne.

driven back, and that chief, to encourage his men, advanced from the main body, and stood waving his hands to those who were retiring. This was marked by Pedro Leão, who had been valet to Don Christopher: and creeping along the bank of a river, which bounded the field of battle, he approached so near to Gragne, as to make his aim perfectly certain, and then fired. The Mahometan chief, finding himself mortally wounded, rode aside into a copse, where he fell dead from his horse. The rout became general; Leão contented himself with cutting off and preserving the ear of Gragne, and then joined in the pursuit. This great victory put an end to the tyranny of Adel.

When the troops were recalled from the pursuit, an Abyssinian officer, having found the body of Gragne, presented his head to the King, and was received by him with great honour. Dias coolly observed, that the courage of Gragne was too well known to allow the belief, that any man could have cut off his ear while he was living; and thereupon introduced Leão for the reward so unjustly claimed by the other.

Claudius requests an Abuna from Alexandria.

Disputes began, when the kingdom was a little settled, between Bermudez and Claudius, on the subject of their Creeds, and of the subjection which was owed by Ethiopia to the See of Rome. The old reproach of the Jacobites was employed against the Patriarch; that he was an Arian, and worshipped four gods; and Bermudez, it must be allowed, was too much disposed to answer railing with railing. Arius Dias was now gained by the King: and had, it was said, submitted to be re-baptized. Claudius wrote to Cairo, requesting that an Abuna might be sent, as had been the previous custom, from the Patriarch of Alexandria; and Joseph, the ecclesiastic chosen for this office, was received in Abyssinia with great joy and exultation.

Decline of Roman influence.

From this time, Roman influence began to decline; and the mission which might have rescued Ethiopia from heresy, seemed likely to serve no other purpose, than the widening of the breach between that nation and the Catholic Church. Bermudez returned to Dobarwa, and there quietly occupied himself in the instruction of a few Portuguese who had settled in the place. From thence, after some time, he returned to Goa;

apparently resigning[1] his dignity; and, shortly afterwards returned to Lisbon, when he published the above account of his labours.

SECTION V.

NEW MISSION INTO ABYSSINIA.

S. Ignatius Loyola, then at Rome, hearing of the ill success of Bermudez, was seized with an ardent desire of himself undertaking the Abyssinian mission. This, however, was forbidden by the Pope; who, to console Ignatius, appointed Nuno Barreto Patriarch, and two Bishops *in partibus* his coadjutors. These ecclesiastics sailed to Goa: but the news which they there received induced them to alter their intended course, and not hazard all upon one attempt. Oviedo and Carneiro, the Suffragan Bishops, sailed to Masuah; Barreto remained behind in India. The missionaries were honourably received by Claudius; who, however, protested that he owed no obedience except to the Chair of S. Mark, and is said to have distinguished himself greatly in a dispute on the subject of the Two Natures. Barreto died in India; and, as it had been arranged, Oviedo succeeded him as Patriarch.

New mission into Abyssinia.

Nuno Barreto, Latin Patriarch.

A.D. 1558.

But a fearful catastrophe, and that from a totally unexpected quarter, was awaiting Claudius. Del Wumbarea, the widow of Gragne, had never ceased to long for revenge; she had however been restrained from declaring war with Abyssinia, because her son was in the power of the Christians. But, about this time, that Prince was exchanged for a son of the late King David; and

Fresh war with Adel.

[1] Bruce, iii. 227, and Geddes, 874, assert the contrary. Geddes, of course, is very glad to lay hold of any fact which might be turned against the Jesuits; but it seems incredible, that Bermudez, who certainly was not backward in dwelling on his own hardships, should not have dwelt on the greatest of them,—his being supplanted by the intrusion of another Patriarch, if the facts had been so. He possibly never made a formal dimission of his dignity: but he had doubtless quietly resigned it Geddes hints that he was dropped at S. Helena, in order that he might lose his life from the unhealthiness of that island: Bermudez himself says that he stayed there for a year, in express opposition to the wishes of his captain. Compare La Croze, 259, and Geddes, 174.

this difficulty was therefore removed. And the greatest hopes of succeeding in her wishes were at the same moment held out to her. She was passionately loved by Nur, governor of Zeyla, and a son of that Mudgid who had filled the Abyssinians, as we before related, with terror. But she constantly refused to give her hand to any man, except to him who should bring to her the head of Claudius, the vanquisher of her late husband. Nur gladly undertook the condition.

Claudius was occupying himself in rebuilding and restoring the churches which had been destroyed by the Infidels, and particularly in the completion of one which was, from its magnificence, called the Mountain of gold. Having received a challenge from Nur, he resolved to march against Adel.

Claudius had never yet been defeated: but now prophecies were circulated through the army that the present campaign would terminate in his ruin and death; and he himself was heard to declare his desire of perishing in battle against the Infidels. At the moment the army was advancing against the Moors, a Priest warned Claudius that he would be unsuccessful: but the King paid no attention to the monition, and continued to march forward. At the first fire, the Abyssinians fled; Claudius, supported by twenty horse, and eighteen Portuguese musqueteers, was surrounded by the foe; and, after defending themselves gallantly, and selling their lives as dearly as they could, they were to a man cut to pieces. Claudius, in particular, was pierced with twenty wounds: his head was cut off by Nur, and presented to Del Wumbarea, who tied it to a tree in front of her door, that it might be a constant gratification to her unsated revenge. She then gave her hand to Nur, who had returned from the field of battle without any show of triumph, and in the meanest attire which he could assume: declaring that he owed his victory not to human valour, but to GOD alone. The head of Claudius was, three years afterwards, ransomed by an Armenian merchant, and buried at Antioch, in a church bearing the name of the Emperor's Patron Saint; and that Prince is, by the Ethiopians, himself reckoned among the Blessed.

March 22, A.D. 1558. Defeat and death of Claudius.

SECTION VI.

PROGRESS OF THE MISSION.

Progress of the mission.

Claudius was succeeded by his brother Menas,[1] the same whose release from captivity had been the ultimate cause of the late king's defeat. Domestic dissensions were added to foreign dangers: and, through the treachery of one of the principal governors, a great part of the flat country round Masuah was lost. Isaac, for that was the name of the traitor, professed to be well inclined to the Roman Faith; and Oviedo, with his Clergy, having been cruelly persecuted by the court, embraced the equally wicked and impolitic proposition of siding against the King, with this nobleman. That monarch, however, marched against Isaac and his Mahometan allies, and defeated them: but did not long survive his victory. He was succeeded by his son Melec Segued.

Rebellion.

Le Grande's History of Abyssinia.

A.D. 1563.

In the meantime it had been determined by the Court of Rome to try what effect could be produced by a direct overture with Alexandria: and a Jesuit, by name Christopher Rodrigo, was dispatched, not to the Catholic, but to the Coptic Patriarch. Could S. Leo the Great have foreseen, when encouraging S. Proterius of Alexandria to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints at Chalcedon against its enemies, that one of his successors would have opened a treaty with the latter against the Catholic successor of S. Mark, we may imagine the shame and the bitterness that would have possessed that noble-minded Prelate. Gabriel was at this time the Jacobite Patriarch: and he, after deluding the envoy with fair words, finally gave ample proof of his duplicity, and the negotiation came to nothing.[2]

Gabriel VII. Patr. xcv. Circ. A.D. 1560.

Melec Segued, the son of Menas,[3] succeeded his father in the thirteenth year of his age. The Patriarch and his followers were permitted to live in peace, but made no progress whatever; and indeed scrupled not to express their belief, that the conver-

Melec Segued Emperor.

[1] Bruce, iii. 229—237. La Croze, 279—281. Geddes, 203—206. Both these last writers fall into the mistake of making Menas slain in battle.

[2] Le Quien, ii. 502. Renaud. p. 611. Wansleb. p. 329. Alex. Catal. Sacchini Hist. Jes. P. ii. l. 5.

[3] Bruce, iii. 237. Geddes, 207. La Croze, 281.

sion of Ethiopia could only be undertaken at the head of a body of troops. The Cardinal, Don Henry, then Regent of Portugal, judging that there were no hopes of a successful result, prevailed on Pope Pius to issue letters of revocation to Oviedo, appointing him missionary in Japan or China. Oviedo addressed a letter of remonstrance on the subject, but shortly afterwards departed this life at Fremona. With him, in effect, ended the first Portuguese mission.

SECTION VII.

BIRTH OF CYRIL LUCAR.

Birth of Cyril Lucar.

We are now entering on the most interesting part of Alexandrian History: the rise, progress, and final rejection of those Calvinian tenets which had for some time infested so large a portion of Europe. And the difficulty of the task is equal to its interest. No attempt has yet been made,[1] in our own country, to give a general view of the controversy from its beginning to its close, the accounts on which we have principally to depend are the ex parte statements of advocates; Cyril Lucar, the principal mover in the whole business, is alternately presented to us in the light of a fiend and a Martyr: nay, in two several councils of his own Church is delivered over to an anathema; and declared to be one of whose holiness there can be no doubt. Furthermore, several documents, important for the right understanding of several momentous matters, now no longer exist; and the authenticity of some that have come down to us is, and has been questioned. It will be our business to keep clear from the unfounded assumptions of both Genevans and Jesuits, and to judge the whole subject by the Canons and Creed of the Eastern Church.

Calvinian Controversy, its interest and difficulty.

Silvester Patr. LXXX. Before A.D. 1574. A.M. 1290.

Joachim, whose great age we have already mentioned, was succeeded by Silvester. Of the earlier period of his Patriarchate

[1] Honourable exception ought to be made of Dr. Beaven's account of Cyril Lucar in the *British Magazine* for September, 1842; December, 1843; January and June, 1844. Though too favourable to the Patriarch's character, and necessarily imperfect from the writer's want of some important books, it is a fair and a valuable piece of biography. But still, it is a life of the man, not a history of the controversy.

we know nothing: he appears, however, to have kept up a friendly intercourse[1] with the learned men of the West; and possibly, ignorant of the actuating principles of the foreign Reformation, might have viewed it the more favourably from a resentment of the injustice which his own Church had recently received at the hands of her Roman Sister. Whether he were himself possessed of much learning, we have no means of judging: he had at all events the faculty of discerning and rewarding it in others. It was probably about the year 1574 that Meletius Piga,[2] a Cretan by birth, came to Alexandria, where he was soon afterwards ordained Priest by Silvester, and in due time raised to the dignity of Protosyncellus. Meletius Piga at Alexandria.

While Greece[3] and the neighbouring islands were groaning under Mahometan tyranny, Crete, under the government of the Venetians, enjoyed the profoundest repose. The merchant-republic did not interfere with the Eastern Church; the Greeks were protected, and not plundered; and it was natural that the acquisition of learning should here be more eagerly sought, and more highly valued, than in any other portion of the Oriental Church: for knowledge, equally with every other possession, exposed its owner to the dislike and suspicion of the Infidels. Again,[4] the learning of the Roman Prelates, of whom there were at least ten in the island, under the Archbishop of Candia, must have at once rendered necessary, and by emulation given rise to, diligent study on the part of the Greek Prelates. How many of the ancient Sees of Crete still existed in the time of Silvester, we know not; but, in the flourishing times of the Church, there were at the lowest estimate[5] thirteen, under the metropolitan of Gortyna. The intercourse with Venice led many of the islanders, who were in course of education for Priests, to avail themselves of the Italian Universities, and Padua was that which offered most attractions. Hence, however, the unfortunate consequence arose, that even in the bosom of the Oriental Church were trained some, who were seduced, by her more learned and more powerful Sister, from the allegiance due to their own State of Crete.

1 Crusius, Turco-Græc. p. 507.
2 Crusius, p. 531.
3 Smith, Vit. Cyr. Lucar, 3. Beaven, 241.
4 Le Quien, iii. 907.
5 Le Quien, ii. 256.

Mother, or were at least disposed to introduce scholastic novelties into her simpler Creed.

Meletius Piga,[1] however, was not drawn aside in this way: his fault seems to have been that of too great prejudice against the Western Church. His works were numerous, and chiefly controversial. We find him in communication with the Russians and Sclavonians on the subjects of the Procession, and of the Roman Primacy: he wrote a Catechism for the use of the Greek Church, and a treatise addressed to Gabriel of Philadelphia, whom we shall have cause to mention again, on the points in dispute between the two Churches.

Shortly before the time that Meletius left Crete for Alexandria, that is, in the year 1572, the family of the Lucari, connected with him by blood, and inhabitants of the city of Candia, were gratified by the birth of a son, who was called Cyril.[2] Silvester,[3] in the meantime, presided at two synods, that of
A.D. 1579. Jerusalem, where Germanus, Patriarch of that city, resigned his dignity, and another, in which Jeremiah of Constantinople was restored to the Œcumenical Throne, unjustly occupied by Pachomius. The absence of Silvester must have increased the influence of Meletius Piga, and whether at his invitation, or from the hope of securing his favour, Cyril Lucar, when quite a youth,[4] sailed to Alexandria. There it would appear that Meletius advised his young relative to pursue the same method of study which he himself had followed; for Cyril, after returning to
A.D. 1584. Crete, went to Venice in the twelfth year of his age, and there commenced[5] those studies, which he afterwards completed at Padua.

Shortly afterwards, Meletius Piga[6] was chosen to fill the Chair of S. Mark. It appears that at the time of his election,

[1] Smith, 7. Leo Allatius, De Perp. Cons. 997. Le Quien, ii. 503.

[2] Smith, 3. A. Leger. apud Smith, 77. Smith, however, in his appendix tries to prove that Cyril was born several years earlier than has been commonly believed, p. 63. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Chret. Orient. p. 53. Leo Allatius, 1174. To this writer, who well deserves the title of Doctor Falsiloquus, we shall have frequent occasion to refer, in refutation of his atrocious calumnies. Aymon. 8.

[3] Le Quien, u. s. and iii. 517.

[4] Allatius, 1073, who makes him, at this time, to have been ordained Priest.

[5] Leger, 77. Smith, 45.

[6] Le Quien, ii. 503.

he was Exarch of the Church of Constantinople, and the dissensions by which it was torn called for his frequent presence after his promotion.[1] His election must have taken place subsequently to the year 1591, because in that year it is expressly said that the See of Alexandria was vacant,[2] while the three other Patriarchs assisted at a Council in Constantinople, on an affair of deep importance to the Eastern Church. The Russians had long been desirous of obtaining a Patriarch of their own; and the downfal of the Eastern Empire, while it elevated that of Russia, also rendered it a task of no small difficulty to obtain a free and constant communication with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Jeremiah, who then filled that post, happening to be in Moscow, was prevailed on by the Emperor to declare Russia absolutely free from himself and his successors, and to erect Moscow into a fifth Patriarchate, Job, Archbishop of Rostov, being the first who was elevated to the newly erected Throne. But doubts subsequently arose as to the power which Jeremiah possessed of making, by his own authority, so important a change in the discipline of the Eastern Church; and the ancient Patriarchs met at Constantinople to discuss and to decide the question. By them it was determined that the step was right and necessary: Moscow was ranked immediately after Jerusalem; and the Patriarchal dignity remained in that See for more than a hundred years, till Peter, generally called the Great, abolished it, and substituted in its place the Erastian device of a Holy governing Synod.

Meletius, Patr. LXXXI. After A.D. 1591. A.M. 1307.

Moscow a Patriarchate.

Piga, on his return to Alexandria, continued his studies, and published one or two controversial writings for the use of the Sclavonic Church, which, as we shall presently see, was exposed to the intrusion of Romanism. Cyril Lucar[3] was pursuing his studies, under the tuition of Maximus Margunius, afterwards Bishop of Cythera, a learned man, and a good poet: his two Epistles, the one, on Divine permission of evil; the other, on

Proceedings of Meletius Piga.

[1] Phil. Cyprius, 15.

[2] Mouravieff, p. 132. and Appendix, ii. p. 395. Le Quien is therefore mistaken in saying, "Anno 1593, cum tribus Patriarchis sedit in Concilio Constantinopolitano in quo Patriarchalia jura quæ Hieremias Patriarcha Constantinopol. Moscoviensi antistiti concesserat, confirmata sunt:"—unless he refers to a second Council, confirmatory of the first: which, however, we do not believe to have existed.

[3] Smith, 4.

the Procession of the Holy Ghost, prove his claim to the first character: his Anacreontic Hymns, to the latter. Cyril became not only acquainted with Latin, but also with Italian; and, on the completion of his academical career, resolved to visit several of the most famous European cities, and, more especially, to inquire for himself into the real condition and character of the Reformed communities, of which so much was heard, and so little known, in Egypt.

It were much to be wished that we had any history of his wanderings: we should then be enabled more clearly to trace the gradual steps by which, from a sincere desire for the elevation and purification of his Church, he was led to assimilate fearfully with Calvinian Doctrine. But we only know, that he visited Geneva, Holland, and it would seem, England;[1] and thence returned to his own country.

SECTION VIII.

CYRIL LUCAR AS PRIEST.

Cyril Lucar as Priest. A.D. 1595.

On the return of Cyril to Alexandria,[2] Meletius Piga, finding him as opposed as ever to the Roman Church, seems never to have inquired whether his principles might not have been warped by his close connexion with several of the Reformers, but in a short time raised him to the Priesthood, and finding that he continued to deserve promotion, made him Archimandrite.

[1] So Ricaut says in his preface, p. 15, (not marked). But he invalidates his own testimony, by talking of Cyril's having "observed that purity of our Doctrine, and the excellency of our discipline, which flourished in the beginning of the reign of King Charles the Martyr." If Cyril were in England at all, it was during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[2] There is a difficulty in this part of the History. Leo Allatius, (1073); Aymon, (8); Beaven, (242); and Simon, (52); make him to have returned to Alexandria. Smith, (6), and Leger, (77), affirm that he went to Constantinople where Meletius then was. But Smith is at all events guilty of a mistake, in making Meletius then only Exarch of Constantinople for Silvester: for he could not in this case, have ordained Cyril Lucar, as he had no See till raised to the Chair of S. Mark.

Cyril had not been long promoted to this dignity when he was sent,—it does not appear on what business,—to Constantinople.[1] It is not impossible that he accompanied Piga thither, when, on the vacancy that occurred in the Œcumenical Throne, after the death of Theophanes II.,[2] that Patriarch administered its affairs. The sermons which he delivered, during that period, in the great church, are still extant, although they have never been published. After a year's residence in Constantinople, Cyril was dispatched into Poland on a difficult and delicate mission.

Attempt of Sigismund III.

Sigismund[3] the Third, king of Poland, was a member of the Roman Church, whereas his predecessors had constantly adhered to the Oriental Faith: and, as such, he was naturally desirous of bringing back his subjects into Communion with the Chair of S. Peter. His principal adviser was one Peter Scarga, a Jesuit: and it was in compliance with his request, that the king declared the Bishops of Lithuania and Black Russia, who should adhere to the Greek Rite, incapable of a seat in the public council of the nation. These Prelates, or rather the greater number of them, annoyed at this privation, and wearied with the continued importunities of their monarch, at length consented to submit to Rome; and dispatched two of their number to Clement the Eighth, the then reigning Pontiff, to request that the Sclavonic Churches might be received into the Communion of Rome. Constantine, Duke of Ostrog, and Palatine of Kieff, met this act by a public protest, in which he declared his attachment to the Greek Church, and his repudiation of the measures employed to force Lithuania into the Communion of Rome.[4] The matter became serious; the Oriental Church would not, with patience, see herself dismembered of so flourishing a branch; and Matthew, then just raised to the Throne of Constantinople, dispatched Nicephorus as his legate into Poland, Meletius Piga also sending Cyril Lucar.

Rise of the Uniates.

A.D. 1596.

They arrived just in time to be present at a synod which was summoned by Sigismund at Brzesc, on the return of the

[1] Leger, 78.

[2] Le Quien, 330.

[3] Regensvolck. System. Hist. Chron. p. 476. Smith, 8. Beaven, 242. Mouravieff, 240.

[4] Constantine was a hundred years old, and had procured the publication of the first Sclavonic Bible. Mouravieff, p. 140.

Council of Brzesc:

Bishops from Rome. Constantine, with the Prelates who still remained attached to the Greek faith, and the legates, used their utmost endeavours to prevent the proposed union with the Western Church; they were, however, not only out-voted by a large majority, but party spirit ran so high[1] that the legates were in some danger.

of Wilna.

The Catholic Greeks next held a Synod at Wilna, in which they were met by several Lutheran nobles and divines; the object being, if possible, to bring about an union between the Reformed bodies and the Oriental Church. This conference, happily for the latter, proved abortive; and Sigismund continued to press on his measures with more zeal than knowledge. He forbade, under severe penalties, the propagation of Greek doctrines throughout his dominions; and he carried his views still further, and determined on endeavouring to bring about a general union between the Eastern and Western Churches. Meletius Piga was now, by the common consent of friends and foes, the most influential Prelate in the former; and him Sigismund resolved to win to his views. Cyril, who had gained his livelihood by[2] teaching Greek at Wilna, was now sent back again to Cairo, with a letter from the King of Poland to the Patriarch, exhorting him to revere the primacy of S. Peter, and to acknowledge Clement VIII. as his successor and Œcumenical Bishop. To this epistle Meletius Piga[3] returned a respectful but firm answer: he constituted Cyril his Exarch in Sclavonia, and dispatched him with the strongest recommendations to the King. But Sigismund was engaged in a violent persecution; and the Uniates,—for so the schismatical Greeks were called, not only were put in possession of all the honours and emoluments of the Sees, but were guilty of the greatest cruelty towards the Catholics. Nicephorus opposed himself violently to these proceedings; and, having excited the anger of the schismatics by his plain speaking, was seized and strangled. It needed all the prudence of Cyril Lucar to escape the same fate: he did not dare to exhibit an epistle with which he was charged from Piga to the Protestant Divines; and

Correspondence between Sigismund and Meletius Piga.

[1] Beaven (242) and Leger (78) place the murder of Nicephorus at this time.

[2] Regensvolck, 470.

[3] Smith, 12.

though in private he never ceased to oppose Rome, he thought fit to withdraw from all open share in the matter.

His silence gave rise to a calumny which his adversaries, and especially the Jesuit Scarga,[1] were active in circulating against him. It was said that he had written to the Archbishop of Löwenberg, professing his own adherence to the Church of Rome. The letter was a forgery.[2]

Cyril returns to Alexandria.

Finding his efforts unavailing, Cyril returned to Alexandria, with considerable increase of reputation, and a high character for political talent as well as learning. He found his services required in another way, and was dispatched into Crete,[3] to collect the usual contributions for the Patriarchate. He went by way of Constantinople and Paros; and it was at the former place that he formed an intimacy[4] with M. von Haga, then travelling in the Levant, which also exerted a powerful influence on his future views. Nor need we wonder at this. Cyril could not but see that his Church stood in need of reformation; the doctrines then controverted in the West had received no elucidation nor decision, as they since have, in an Oriental Synod; the views of Lucar were probably indistinct and ill-defined, and rendered, perhaps, more obscure both by his intercourse with Romanists and with Protestants. In this state of things, a compact, clear, well-defined, and logical system was set before him by the teachers and disciples of Calvinism: they seem to have worked their way gradually, to have shrunk from sudden disclosures, and open attacks; and as Cyril seems to have been possessed but of moderate though highly respectable talents, and certainly had no knowledge of the Calvinistic controversy beyond that which Calvinists were pleased to give, we cannot wonder that he fell into their snare. Haga's cha-

Cyril becomes acquainted with Von Haga.

[1] This is eagerly retailed by the enemies of Cyril. Smith, in the earlier editions of his work, believed it, and Beaven tries to explain it. It is disproved by Leger, apud Smith, 13, who refers to his Miscellanies, 115, 116. Allatius asserts that it was done in Saxony for five hundred pieces of gold.

[2] The sequel of this negotiation may be seen, on the Latin side, in Regensvolck, lib. 4; on the Eastern, in Mouravieff, p. 141. It rather belongs to Constantinopolitan than Alexandrian history.

[3] Allatius, 1073.

[4] The date of this intimacy is settled by a comparison of Allatius, 1074, and Aymon, 126.

racter stood high; and one great object of his life seems to have been the bringing about an union between Geneva and Constantinople.

On his return to Egypt, he found his benefactor and relation, Meletius Piga, on his death-bed, and closed his eyes.

Cyril III. Patr. LXXXII. A.D. 1602. A.M. 1318.

The greater part of the Clergy turned their eyes on Cyril Lucar; but there was a faction which endeavoured to promote the election of Gerasimus [1] Spartaliotes. However, Cyril was duly chosen and consecrated, in the year 1602; and immediately entered on the active duties of his office.

SECTION IX.

CYRIL LUCAR, PATRIARCH.

Cyril Lucar, Patriarch.

And they were neither few nor easy. It is certain that, from whatever cause, since the conquest of Egypt by Selim, while the Jacobites grew daily weaker in themselves, and more contemptible in the eyes of the world, the Catholic Church had increased considerably in strength. It does not appear that this change was accompanied by any increase in the number of Bishops; a truly grievous thing; and entailing, of course, on the Patriarch additional labour and additional responsibility.

The first ten years of Cyril's Patriarchate are almost entirely unknown to us. Our own countryman, Sandys, who in the year 1611 visited Egypt, gives him a high character:[2] and assures us that he considered the points in controversy between the Oriental and English Church as trifling and unimportant.

Cyril at Constantinople.

It was in the year 1612 that, on the removal of Neophytus

[1] Allatius and Simon are both so eager to malign Cyril, that they contradict each other. Simon says that he bought his Patriarchate with money raised in Saxony for Meletius; Allatius, in Crete. The latter asserts that Gerasimus would have been canonically elected but for Cyril Lucar's wealth: it is highly improbable that Gerasimus himself felt injured, or he would hardly have shewn so much friendship for Cyril at a later period.

[2] Sandys, Ed. 3, p. 115. Smith, 15.

from the Œcumenical Throne by the caprice of the Sultan,[1] Cyril Lucar was compelled to visit Constantinople, in order to assist in the deposition of the Patriarch, and to administer the affairs of that Church.[2] Here he found his old friend, M. Von Haga, who then occupied the post of ambassador from the States to the Sublime Porte; and the acquaintance thus renewed soon became a cordial friendship.[3]

His first contest with the Jesuits.

Cyril arrived in Constantinople before, or at the beginning of Lent;[4] and it so happened that in one of the sermons preached during that season, a Greek Monk, who was an agent of the Jesuits, publicly preached Romanist doctrines in one of the Greek churches. The Jesuits had established a college at Constantinople about the year 1601:[5] the buildings were handsome, the library well assorted, and the Priests laborious, active, and intriguing. They soon made great way with the Greeks: but, strange to say, found more difficulty with members of the Roman Communion. The latter were, for the most part, under the spiritual guidance[6] of Franciscans and Dominicans, who viewed the advances of the new Society with jealousy: and were not without their fears lest the turbulent and intermeddling spirit it displayed at Constantinople, should occasion the banishment of all Romanists from that city. Cyril publicly opposed the new doctrine, and thereby drew upon himself the deadly and implacable hatred of the Jesuits; and a struggle commenced between him and that Society, which only ended with his life.

He begins to embrace Protestant tenets.

Hitherto Cyril's conduct seems to have been irreproachable. He may indeed have theoretically entertained too favourable an opinion of the Protestant Communities on the Continent; but this opinion had not influenced his conduct. By the advice of Von Haga, while administering the See of Constantinople,

[1] Le Quien, i. 331.

[2] Philip. Cypr. p. 16.

[3] We learn this from Cyril's XII. Letter, as given by Aymon at p. 126.

[4] Smith, 15; and in the English Life, p. 247. "This," says he, "I find in a letter written by Sir Paul Pindar from Constantinople, in the April of that year." Sir Paul Pindar was then an ambassador at the Sublime Porte.

[5] Chrysoculus, *Relation tres importante des complots des Jesuites*, Aymon, p. 202, *seq.*

[6] Chrysoculus, p. 203. This writer, as we shall have occasion to observe, was great Logothete of the Great Church at Constantinople.

he wrote to M. Uytenbogaert, Minister at the Hague, of whom he had possibly gained some knowledge by report during his European travels. This was the first step in his ruin.

This letter, which is written in Latin,[1] is dated at Constantinople the 30th of May, 1612. In its address, the Patriarch of Alexandria calls the Presbyterian Minister his "brother in CHRIST;" and proceeds in the following strain: we use Dr. Beaven's translation.

His letter to Uytenbogaert.

"His lordship, the ambassador, proposed this to me, but I had been beforehand in thinking of it; and the result is that, although I am not known to you, I write to you under the feeling that you are sufficiently known to me. And no wonder, for I write to you as a minister to a minister, and a pastor to a pastor; for we both sustain these titles—you in your Church, I in mine: and although both you and I are pastors, it is certain that we are both under the Chief Pastor, whose sheep we ought to be, and by whom we must be appointed pastors, if we wish to be really such.

"And if we have this from GOD, it is well; but at the present time this is certainly not well, that your calling is not fully recognized by me, nor mine by you; and what is worse, one or the other of us, not regarding the ancient authority of the Fathers, to say nothing of Scripture, admits into the Church human opinions and innovations, with which the Church is now overwhelmed, and appears to be at its last gasp. In the stead of faith is introduced vain philosophy, that sword turning every way, not to keep but to obstruct the way of life. To this philosophy we subject CHRIST himself; in it we believe: if the mysteries of the faith are not sanctioned by it, we do not receive them; we make it the sole foundation of salvation.

"Now, if I should say this of you, or should refer it to you, you will cast it back upon me. If we both charge it on the Pope of Rome, he will excommunicate us both, and esteem us heretics. What a misery is this! What a confounding of truth! And that there is no one who can put a stop to this absurdity, and banish so foul a blot from the Christian world!

[1] Aymon, pp. 127—130.

"Some appear to reproach the Eastern Church with ignorance, inasmuch as the pursuits of literature and philosophy have shifted into other quarters. But, certainly, the East may be esteemed exceedingly happy in this her ignorance. For though, undoubtedly, she is pressed down with many miseries through the tyranny of the Turks, and possesses no facilities for the acquirement of knowledge, she has at least this great advantage, that she knows nothing of those pestilent disputes which, in the present day, pollute the ears of men. To her, innovations are novel signs and prodigies, to be dreaded rather than followed. She is contented with that simple faith which she has learned from the Apostles and our forefathers. In it she perseveres even unto blood. She never takes away, never adds, never changes. She always remains the same; always keeps and preserves untainted orthodoxy. And if any one chose to observe seriously the state of things in the Eastern Church, he would become aware of a highly important and wonderful circumstance; for Christians themselves, since they have been reduced to servitude, though persecuted by the unbelievers as by serpents within their dwellings, even if they see themselves deprived of their substance, their children dragged from their embraces, and themselves afflicted and distressed without intermission, to the utmost limits of endurance, yet think it not grievous to suffer these things for the faith of CHRIST, and, as has been often proved, when occasion offered, are ready to submit to death itself. And perhaps the almighty power of God is by this means rendered more apparent, by which so great grace is bestowed on men, when His strength is made perfect in weakness. Is not this a miracle? Are not these the marks of the LORD JESUS which Paul carried about? For with this the Eastern Christians, setting no store by the advantages of this life, and regarding them as perishable, keep up their hearts to one end—the inheritance of a heavenly kingdom to the glory of GOD.

"Wherefore, then, do I mention these things to you? That your good sense may teach you, that in these parts it is a difficult thing to admit any novelty in the Church or in faith. Nor shall we ever consent to those things which, although they have a semblance of advantage and usefulness, yet are proved

by experience to occasion great scandal to all Christendom. And I could wish that your Church would with us follow the same rule; for, in that case, there would not be those objections to it which the writers of these times everywhere bring forward."

It is true that there is in this letter much to surprise and to grieve us; yet it is worthy of notice, that the high Oriental feeling in which Cyril had been educated had not yet forsaken him, nor was to all appearance, injured and weakened. The Eastern Church is with him the model of perfection and unchangeableness: other communities may be true Churches, but she is *the* Church; other communities may have admitted innovations, she has rejected and repudiated them.

Timothy, Œcumenical Patriarch.

While this letter was on its way to Holland, the Church of Constantinople petitioned the Sultan to be allowed to proceed to the election of a Patriarch.[1] The friends of Cyril were earnestly desirous that he should be raised to this office: great interest was made for him, and considerable hopes of success were entertained. But the conduct of Cyril on this occasion amply refutes the calumnies of Leo Allatius, with respect to his simoniacal purchase of the See of Alexandria. It is pretty clear, that had he chosen to promise the *pescesium*, or tribute to the Porte, which the Patriarchs were in the habit of paying, he would have been successful: as he was firm on this point, Timothy,[2] Bishop of Patras, was raised to the dignity.[3] This man could not forget his rival's attempt: and Cyril found himself uncomfortable, and even unsafe at Constantinople. He

Cyril in Wallachia.

[1] Le Quien, i. 331. Smith, p. 18. English Life, p. 248.

[2] Philip Cyp. p. 16. Dr. Beaven, (cxxx. 245) is not quite correct in his order of events: inasmuch as he seems to place Cyril's journey into Wallachia before the election of Timothy. Smith makes Timothy Bishop of Marmora; but Papadopoli, writing on the subject of Patras to Le Quien, (ii. 182,) says, De' passati, l'anno 1612, fu Timotheo fatto dipoi Patriarcha di Constantinopla.

[3] Much light is thrown on this subject by an unpublished letter of Cyril Lucar to Timothy, which we should have inserted as an Appendix to this volume, had it not been too deplorably corrupted to be printed. In the copy we received from Geneva, it is dated Alexandria; it is clear from what we have said that it was in reality written from Wallachia.

therefore went into Wallachia,[1] as it would appear, with a two-fold object; that of composing some disputes which had arisen, probably from the interference of Romish Missionaries, in this province; and that of collecting alms for the distressed Church of Alexandria. While here, he received an answer from M. Uytenbogaert; which seems to have been written with true Presbyterian insolence, though couched in the most civil and complimentary terms. Eager to prove his denial of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, the Dutch Pastor evidently placed himself on an equality with Cyril; and, humble and unassuming as the latter was, he could not entirely pass over the cool assumption of Uytenbogaert. He replied in a long and valuable letter, from which we shall give some extracts: [2]—

Second letter to Uytenbogaert.

"I am not surprised," it commences, "nor is it anything different from my expectations, that your sweet echo has replied to the letter I sent, as befits a true steward and dispenser of the Divine Word. You have, with wonderful affection, returned to me, and besought for me, health and Christian peace; and, as if desirous to surpass me in every way, you have added at the beginning of your letter your good wishes in me, for the good of universal Christendom. By this I plainly perceive the ardour of your charity and your earnest desire to see the Christian Churches, scattered throughout the world, founded in the truth and unity of love on That Corner-Stone, the True Foundation, besides which can none lay any other."

This language might be only that of compliment; though of compliment strangely unbecoming, when addressed by the third Prelate of the Church to a teacher and propagator of schism. But what follows is still more painful.

Progress of Cyril's apostacy.

"I seem to become more bold in writing to you, to whom I may well open the interior recesses of my heart, and give and receive profitable information on every necessary matter.

"But if I am in error, you will not throw me into a seething pot, nor stretch me over live coals, nor terrify me with the torturer's appearance. For most assuredly the Catholic faith of CHRIST is not sustained, but miserably overthrown, by such tyranny.

[1] Smith, p. 19.

[2] Aymon, pp. 130—164.

"You will admonish me, however, as becomes a brother. And I will deal with you in like manner: the mere opinions of men we will both hold in suspicion: the words of the Scripture and the Gospel as true and infallible."

Cyril then answers the remark of Uytenbogaert on Presbyteral equality.

"As to your remark that there is no difference between us in rank, it is wisely made: for dignity can never alienate the mind of one who is sincere.[1] Nor can a perishable thing cause its possessor to experience any excess of pride. If we are different in dignity, yet we are both mortals, both servants of GOD, both needing the Grace of GOD."

After asking for a profession of his correspondent's faith, and giving his own, as distinguished from heretics in the belief of a Consubstantial TRINITY, and from the Western Church in the omission of the *Filioque*, he thus proceeds[2]:—

"But since our LORD JESUS CHRIST, making a perfect provision for the promotion of our salvation, has, in the covenant of grace—that is, His Gospel,—appointed to us sacraments, I have thought it right to remark something also concerning them, viz., Baptism and the Eucharist; the use of which we esteem so necessary, that without it we conceive that no one can be certain of his faith; for although they are seals, conferring the grace of the Gospel, yet they ought not to be totally separated from faith; because, in the same manner, as they cannot be efficacious without faith, so, because they are ordained, faith cannot be so without them. Hence their use must be perpetual in the Church: although one of them cannot be repeated, and without it the Eucharist would not confer grace; and, indeed, if an unbaptized person should communicate, he would not receive the Sacrament, because he would take it in opposition to faith and the truth of its use, order, and institution. In the same manner we say that neither would profit the impenitent to salvation, because baptism does not save the impenitent, and Paul teaches that he who eateth and drinketh unworthily is guilty of the Body and Blood . . . . On the other hand, what efficacy and

[1] The Latin here makes no sense, but Aymon seems to have given the meaning of Cyril.

[2] Here we again use Dr. Beaven's Translation.

power those Sacraments have for believers, appears from a consideration of the benefit those must receive to whom the merit of the Passion is communicated; for either of them is significative and declarative of the Passion and Death of the LORD; since it was said concerning the one, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' —that is, 'As often as ye shall eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye shall shew forth the LORD's Death;' and of the other, 'Whosoever of us are baptized in CHRIST JESUS, are baptized into His Death;' whence it is certain by the former we become partakers of the Divine Nature, and by the latter are born again, without which new birth and communion it would be difficult for us to be justified. Hence we ought always to render thanks to the FATHER, Who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of His dear SON, in Whom we have redemption through His Blood—the forgiveness of sins.

"In Baptism we think a form necessary; not, however, a proud and pompous one, but one humble and simple, such as we esteem this: 'The servant of GOD is baptized in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.' But previous to all the Greek Church preserves certain ceremonies, as the renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith of the infant's sureties, the giving of a name, the threefold immersion, and other things of small moment, but all accompanied with devout prayers, on which it would be tedious and unprofitable to dwell. . . . .

"In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it holds that the following ceremonies are to be observed. As it is beyond doubt that this mystery was delivered to us for two ends—for the commemoration of CHRIST's Death, and for the receiving of His Body and Blood, in order to commemorate His Death, our Church is wont, before the consecration of the leavened bread, to recite these words: 'He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is harmless,' and then, 'And one of the soldiers with his spear pierced His side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water.' And these words are scarcely finished when the wine and water is poured into the cup. . . .

"And here I should introduce the mention *of the sacred particles*,

which particles are nine very[1] minute portions of bread, and a tenth of S. Mary the Mother of the LORD, which, after the pouring of the wine and water into the cup, being taken from one loaf of oblation, we place near the bread of the Eucharist, to signify that the condition of the Saints is even now happy, who, being joined as members to CHRIST their head, triumph with Him in heavenly glory. But it is not of much importance if that devout and peculiar ceremony of the East, which has little or nothing to do with the essence of the Sacrament, be not known any further, since it is not necessary that others should be informed concerning it. For though the Romans preach and declare that human ordinances are so necessary to salvation, that unless a person observes even to the least tittle with them, he cannot be saved; we, notwithstanding, on the contrary, believe divine ordinances to be certain and infallible, and receive and hold those of men as indifferent and fallible. We subject them to the judgment of Scripture, and the test of the Gospel and the HOLY GHOST; and if they are good and useful, we think they should be adopted, but if otherwise, spurned and rejected. . . .

"The ceremony of *the particles* being finished, we begin to repeat some prayers, and having finished the rehearsal of the words which the Evangelists relate either to have been said concerning the LORD'S Supper, or to have been uttered by our LORD Himself, ('He took bread, and having blessed, He brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is My Body, &c.' And, 'He took the cup, and having given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, &c.') we immediately invoke the Holy Spirit, saying, 'And make this bread the honoured Body of thy CHRIST, and that which is in this cup His precious Blood,' which words S. Chrysostom in the book which we call the *Liturgy*, and before him S. Basil, appoints. After these words we break the bread, and communicate in both kinds; and if any layman, *i.e.*, any of those who are not permitted to administer this Sacrament, wishes to communicate, we likewise impart to him both kinds. . . . .

"With regard to our Church government, it is not monarchical, but mixed and limited. Each [Bishop] *is* a king in his own

[1] We have explained all these ceremonies in the Introduction.

particular church; but he *will not be* a king there unless he desires to be a tyrant. And be he king or not, if he is found guilty of contumacy, he subjects himself to the sentence of the aristocracy of Bishops. To this government we are very much attached: for we know that such was the order established by GOD in the Jewish Church, of which Moses indeed was head; but yet an aristocracy was ordained. That appears to me the proper method of governing Churches; and if we at the present time are somewhat wanting, the cause of it is the tyranny of the unbelievers, to which perverse men frequently have recourse; and thus confound the order of our Church, which my eyes have often seen in these times. . . . .

"The Greek Church is distributed into many nations—the Iberians, Colchians, Arabs, Chaldeans, Æthiopians, Ægyptians, Muscovites, Russians, Bulgarians, Servians or Sclavians, Albanians, Caramanians, Walachians, Moldavians, and Greeks. . . All these nations persevere in the faith of CHRIST, obeying the Greek Church and their own rules. Nor will you observe amongst them, beyond ceremonies which vary with the country, any alteration in matter of faith. It sometimes happens that there is superstition in particular nations, arising from barbarism and ignorance, which we indulge without detriment to faith, because, on account of many different difficulties, we cannot hinder it; but in those things which relate to the essence of the faith, they preserve and continue as they received it from the beginning. . . . .

"These nations have four lawful Patriarchs, amongst whom the Patriarch of Constantinople holds the first place, the Patriarch of Alexandria the second, the Patriarch of Antioch the third, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem the last. There can be no doubt that before the empire of the East, the Archbishop of Constantinople never had the title of Patriarch, and the Patriarch of Alexandria was always Primate; as may be gathered from the First Council, the most celebrated of all, and from other passages and arguments. But the order was changed through the intervention of the Emperor Constantine, who could not endure that his new Rome should not have the presence of some new, great Prelate. The Patriarch of Constantinople, however, could never rightfully have obtained the primacy

of station, if he of Alexandria had not, upon request made to him, voluntarily given way; nor would he have given way unless he had been endowed with great privileges, and a title superior to him of Constantinople,[1] which the Alexandrian Patriarch enjoys to this very time, to the admiration of the whole East; which, if any one were to endeavour to explain to those who are beyond the limits of the East, he would call them fables, and yet they are true. But I mention these things to you, sir, not because we contend with the Patriarch of Constantinople for the Primacy; for to seek this in the Church is to rend the Church, and it would be stupidity and folly for ecclesiastics to dispute for primacy of station to the injury of souls. He is first and most happy who conforms himself to the example of Paul, who professed himself to be the least in the Church, but edified it more than all; but since it is the truth, I have not neglected to write it to you, my friend. By this arrangement, primacy of station is preserved amongst these; amongst the rest [Bishops] are endued with equal rights, and thus brotherly regard is completely preserved. . . . . .

"Nor must I omit to tell you that all the Patriarchs, except him of Constantinople, preserve that excellent order of Church government above mentioned; and the reason is, that their election is lawful, and depends upon those who have no interest but to see the Church flourishing, well governed, and orderly; and if they transgress, the Patriarch of Alexandria is a ready judge to keep within bounds and correct such things, especially if they relate to faith. But it is not so with him of Constantinople, because for the most part Turkish oppression, without any foregoing election, confirms him who gives most: with which the Patriarch of Alexandria vehemently reproaches them. But he cannot compete with Turkish violence, which seeks to gain, whether justly or unjustly, and therefore favours those by whom most is given. Besides this, the distance of the places, and other difficulties, hinder any provision being made against this irregularity. . . . .

"The Patriarch of Constantinople is more powerful, on account of his ready access to the Emperor. Those of Antioch and Jerusalem, upright and humble Prelates, have scarcely a

[1] That of Œcumenical Judge.

sufficient subsistence. The Patriarch of Alexandria is ill thought of; because, without violence towards his brethren, he sometimes defends himself from wrongful attempts, and is always dreaded and suspected by them. But let others speak of his authority and estimation amongst them: from hence it comes to pass, that unless he had confirmed Athanasius, he would not be Patriarch of Antioch: unless by his wish and intervention Theophanes had been elected, he would not be at the head of the Church of Jerusalem; unless he had lately expelled Neophytus of Constantinople, Timotheus would not be there; and I leave to your ambassador to inform you in what alarm that man is, because he obtained the Patriarchate by improper means. But if you, sir, wish to know why Neophytus was ejected, it was on account of his multiplied acts of contumacy. He rose to that degree in the first place by the use of tyranny, and subsequently exercised his government much more tyrannically; and that he might have satellites, as ministers to his pleasures, he introduced some vagabonds of Romans as preachers in our Church, teaching many errors and seducing simple folks. He was admonished by me more than once, but he would not put any check upon himself; for which reason I was compelled to surmount every other difficulty, to set at nought private loss, and to do my utmost to get him deposed, which was done. But Timotheus has obtained the vacant place by dint of bribing the Turks; wherefore the name of the Patriarch of Alexandria keeps him in alarm, and Constantinople is still in considerable commotion. . . . . .

"The election of the Patriarchs, excepting him of Constantinople, rests in the leading men of the nation, who assemble with the Clergy, and, after the customary prayers, choose whom they judge fittest. When they are elected, they deposit a certain sum with the Turkish officials of the province to obtain possession. . . . . The Patriarch of Alexandria pays nothing to the Turks, nor does he ever join with them in any Church matters, or choose them as advisers or allies; the reason of which is, the prudence and vigilance of former Patriarchs, who, being aware of the danger, have always kept their subjects unanimous. On this unity good and evil depends; and, by the favour of God, it is in our own times greater than usual, and wonderfully stands by us in all circumstances; never suffering any to disturb the

Church of Alexandria, but meeting everything unfavourable with promptitude, and the more when the See is vacant; although by means of calumnies, invented by the unbelievers, after the usual Turkish fashion, we suffer daily injuries. . . . . When the Patriarchs are elected, they are consecrated by at least three Metropolitans or Archbishops. . . . . The principal ceremonies of the Consecration are as follows:—The Patriarch elect stands in the midst of the church, ... and makes the profession of his faith in an audible voice, reciting the Creed, and promising to be faithful to CHRIST and His Flock. Then follow prayers, with the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, imposition of hands, and the naming of the Patriarchate, [to which he is appointed,] and thus ends the Consecration. Archbishops and Bishops are consecrated in a similar manner; but there is this addition in the case of Patriarchs, that when the ceremony of Consecration is finished, a staff is given into their hand, with a longer charge; and in some Churches, (as at Jerusalem and Alexandria, but nowhere else,) the head is anointed with oil, called the oil of Confirmation; but I know no other reason for it but custom. . . . . .

"Each Patriarch has his Archbishops and Bishops. The Patriarch of Constantinople has more than the rest; and next to him the Patriarch of Antioch. The Patriarch of Alexandria has had only *Chorepiscopi* for a space of two hundred years;[1] but it would be tedious to recount the causes why he has not Archbishops and Bishops. The Chorepiscopi are but deputies; they differ from Bishops in this, that the latter can ordain, appoint, and arrange at their discretion, within the limits of their Diocese; but the Chorepiscopi not without the authority of their superior. . . . . .

"It was your wish, likewise, to obtain information concerning the *heretics* in the East, and I therefore will not neglect to notice anything which may be to the purpose. There are still four sects of them with whom our Church does not communicate,

[1] It is almost too bold to say that Cyril was not acquainted with his own Diœcese; but his statement here is certainly incorrect. In one sense, the Bishops of Egypt were Chorepiscopi from the very beginning, that is, they acted as their Patriarch's Vicars. Certainly no change had been made in the previous two hundred years.

the *Armenian*, the *Coptic*, the *Maronite*, and the *Jacobite*, whose mode of worship is unsightly, and their ceremonies worse than brutish. In matter of faith, they are heretics; in habits and other circumstances of an ecclesiastical nature, you would say that they differed nothing from beasts. They are so sunk in darkness as scarcely to know whether they believe, or what they believe, but each of them is obstinately attached to its own superstitions and errors.

"The *Armenians* follow the doctrine of Manichaeus,[1] and have many peculiar points of belief. Their Clergy are reckoned gods upon earth, because they abstain from vegetables during Lent; but these gods, the true GOD is my witness, have often moved my bile; and doubtless any one who is a spectator of their foul and absurd follies, could not help being annoyed. But perhaps it will not displease you if I make you in some degree as wise as myself. It happened to me, as according to Gregory it did to Basil, when he was disputing at Athens with an Armenian, to whom Gregory administers a blow in the ribs, whilst Basil, attacking him on the other side, carried off the victory. So, once upon a time, when I was in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem,[2] I lighted upon a certain Armenian, by name Barsabas; and as the Armenian was very much lifted up, and gave it out that he was more learned than the rest of us, (though I could scarce have expected to meet with so ignorant a man,) watching my opportunity, I thought it not amiss to try, before the crowd of people, what sort of spirit he was of. At length we came to an engagement, the commencement of our discussion being, whether our LORD JESUS CHRIST dwelt amongst men, and suffered in appearance only; for the Armenians believe that He did. But when I put questions to him, and urged that it was impious to believe that the LORD did not really suffer, which is the same thing as to deny that He really wrought our salvation; and when with these and other incontrovertible reasonings and testimonies from the Gospel, Barsabas was confounded, yet was ashamed to confess the

[1] So he calls Manes. He means that they disbelieve the reality of the Body, and therefore of the Passion, of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

[2] This is the only notice that Cyril was at Jerusalem.

truth, but tried to invent some more clear method of combating me; and when he perceived that he could in no other way nullify my arguments, he shut up the whole dispute in one word, and cut short the contest. 'I know,' said he, 'that the Armenian religion is more holy than yours, because you in Lent eat beans and other vegetables, from which many worms and much corruption are engendered; but we, observing the purity which becomes a Christian, thinking these to be profane food on fasting days, scarcely dare touch them, and with this we are content.' . . . . . .

"Have I not raised your indignation by the very telling this business? Well, believe me that I kept silence for a good while, doubtful what reply could be made to ignorance so gross, and, not forgetting the line of Euripides,—

Ἢ φρὴν ἀλγήσει, ἢ δὲ γλῶττα ἔσται ἀνάλγητος,

was thinking of the best words for bringing this prince of disputants into another slough of confusion, when one of my attendants spoke up, and replied, 'You have a good right to be a saint, Barsabas, for you have the soul of Pythagoras in you; but if it went from you into a camel, and the camel was still Barsabas, would you then abstain from beans?' An unpretending but shrewd fellow gave him no time to reply, but subjoined, 'You should not say *camel;* if Barsabas was an *ass,* could he live in these parts without beans?' Hereupon the bystanders broke out into uncontrollable laughter, and that was the end of our conference; for this Armenian Coriphæus of disputers went away very wroth. From this, your good sense will judge on what sort of reasons this rabble rely in thinking that they persevere in the Catholic Faith. Upon such sand as this their Clergy build the salvation of themselves and of their followers. . . . . .

"Another sect is that of the *Copts,* who follow the doctrine of Dioscorus and Eutyches, a filthy and barbarous race. They are called Copts, because they used to circumcise themselves; but this they do no longer. The reason, however, is, not as they state it, because it is vain, and against the law, (for our LORD CHRIST Himself was circumcised,) but because they thereby gave

other Christians, who do not practise circumcision, an occasion of laughing at them. I have abundant acquaintance with these pests in the city of Grand Cairo; for, as this was formerly an Archbishopric of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, I have for the most part taken up my residence there, on account of the salubrity of the air, seldom visiting Alexandria. These Copts, then, are so numerous there, that if the Greeks were counted against them, as Homer wrote of the Greeks and Trojans, the Copts would be ten times as many as the Greeks, and many a dozen would lack a cup-bearer. My predecessors in the Patriarchate, and especially Meletius, my last predecessor, a most learned and exemplary person, have made many efforts to bring them back to the way of truth, but without success.

"Pope Clement VIII. of Rome both did and bore many things to come to an arrangement with them; and you would laugh, sir, if you knew what arts the Copts used in that business, and how much the Pope was imposed upon; although Baronius, the new historian, before he became acquainted with the real state of things, perhaps with a view to flatter Clement, after the fashion of the Court of Rome, was in a hurry to give him the credit of having accomplished it by his own newly acquired industry, and chose to give an account in his Annals of the Conversion of the Copts, to the Church of Rome, which time, not long after, proved to be entirely false. In fact, Paul, the present Pope, for that very cause banished several Copts from Rome.

"They have a superior, who is called in their own language *Jabuna*, which means, *My Lord*. He came several times to visit me in Egypt; but every time he came, he came in silence and went away in silence. One of his people spoke for him, and he signified his assent or dissent from the words of the speaker by the inclination or holding back of his head; but he never opened his mouth, because, a she says, it is not allowed; nay, it is a sin for a *Jabuna* to speak much out of his own house; but he kept his rule with a rigour beyond law, for he not only did not speak much, but was altogether silent. For my part, I am a talkative and chatty person, who think I ought to speak with my own mouth, and not with that of others. But the thing which more displeases me in that good *Lord* is, that he never shewed me

any part of his face except the eyes. His whole head, whether he raises it or inclines it, is covered with a cloth, so that he will never give you a glimpse of his face, but you would say that he was a ghost in a tragedy. I am unwilling to trouble a person of your sagacity any further about such absurdities; but the Copts have a *Casis* amongst them, (Casis means *Presbyter*,) called Peter. He is much in the habit of coming to visit me, and says that he knows the errors of his own religion, and reproves them; but I do not place much reliance upon him, because, if his conscience dictated what he says with his mouth, he would no longer remain a Coptish Presbyter. . . . . .

"The *Maronite* sect is semi-Roman[1]; indeed, it is on the road to becoming entirely Roman, for many Maronites have gone to Rome to study, and from thence have migrated to Mount Lebanon, a castle in the province of Phœnicia, where their principal residence is, exceedingly well instructed by the Romans; and at the present time almost all that race follow the Roman religion, especially as their chief Bishop professes himself a Papist. And as the Diœcese of the Patriarch of Antioch is contiguous to the Maronites, I am afraid they will infect the neighbours; more especially as the cautions of the Patriarch and of myself appear to take no effect, for an Arab does not comprehend how insidious and encroaching a thing mischief is.

"The *Jacobite* race is the most filthy and most degraded; nor have I anything to write respecting it, except that we have a good right to know it for its Nestorian heresy.[2]

"These are the pest of the East, which God keeps in check by the general scourge of the unbelievers, so that they may do us no injury. . . . . .

"There would be other things more necessary to write relating to those points which are now discussed and sifted by the learned, as concerning freewill, predestination, and justification;

[1] The Maronites, as we have shewn in the Introduction, were at this time in full communion with Rome.

[2] This is so extraordinary a mistake, more especially in a Patriarch of Alexandria, that, taken in conjunction with that about the Maronites, and his distinguishing the Copts from the Jacobites,—it led us for some time to doubt the authenticity of the letter. But its general style closely resembles that of Cyril;—and his application of the text, What has the chaff to do with the wheat?—is a favourite one of his. At all events, the Letter was not a forgery of Aymon's; for as we understand from Professor Chastel, it is still preserved at Geneva.

concerning which the world is not yet agreed what ought to be held. Our Church has always held the same doctrine, and has taught these points in one and the same way. He who has but a dream may speak dreams; and he who has the Word of God should speak the Word of God in truth. What has the chaff to do with the wheat? Those to whom it is entrusted should do the work of an evangelist, and fulfil their ministry with sobriety; so that, not being intoxicated with passions, of which the efforts of the Jesuits are full, he may not presume to lie, but speak the truth. I am so straitened for time that I cannot speak of these matters; nor, indeed, do I think it necessary, for it is fitter for graver and more learned men to undertake that task without fear, as James Arminius, who in my opinion was a learned man, has done under various heads. But as he lays down propositions, in which many points are implied which are not expressed, his book ought to be read, not cursorily, as I have done, but in a business-like manner, if an opinion is to be pronounced at any length, and not a hasty one; a task which your kindness might at pleasure impose upon me, if I were at home and released from this troublesome journey. I hope, please God, that I shall soon return; and then, sir, you can write to me with freedom, and receive replies which, I trust, will be agreeable, and thus understand more clearly that I am your sincere friend and brother in Christ.

"Moreover, you will observe that nothing is ever written in my letters which is not dictated by reason and truth, by which I desire that everything of mine may be tried. Far be it from me, from my conscience, from my character, that truth should be either neglected, or not preferred to all other things. For the truth I dispute even with my own brethren, the Greek Clergy. I am the enemy of ignorance; and although I do not object to a simple and unlearned laity, because I know that men may be saved, although their minds are uncultivated and simple, whilst they fight almost daily against the enemies of the faith, carrying on the conflict, not with arms, but with patience, so as to prove themselves on all points faithful soldiers of Christ; yet it is a great dissatisfaction to me that our Pastors and Bishops should be sunk in the darkness of ignorance. With this I reproach my countrymen, but without avail. And the Jesuits, taking the

opportunity, have laid the foundation of a plan for educating boys at Constantinople, and have as undisputed success as foxes amongst poultry; and at length the Roman doctrine will overspread the world, if the satellites of the Court of Rome employ equal diligence in the business, unless GOD is merciful to us; for His hand alone can save our vessel from this foul shipwreck. Indeed, our only hope is in His mercy and power; otherwise our strength would be quite ineffectual to resist such a persecution, as those of the Greek religion in Poland and Lithuania, the Russians, and others, feel by very sad experience, through the violence which is brought against them by the Roman Clergy, and through the efforts of the Jesuits to bring them to submit to the Church of Rome. And because they refuse to do this, the Jesuits leave nothing untried to attain their end; hence threats, flight, exile, death, and many other things which we read of, as being to take place only in the times of Antichrist. Hence the poor creatures, seeing the laws of the State overthrown, the covenant for the preservation of their liberties done away with, every method of maintaining public peace withdrawn, have recourse to the Greek Church, that we may vouchsafe, by our influence with the king and the nobles, to interpose, and to beg that they may be set at liberty.

"It has so happened, that the care of this business has fallen upon the Patriarch of Alexandria; nor has he neglected to write to the king and all his great men, to press them, by whatever arguments he could, to adjure them by justice, by equity, by respect for the laws, and at length to descend to prayers and entreaties. But it is all to no purpose; and, indeed, my latest information is, that the violence and persecution becomes the more oppressive, in proportion as they despair of taking possession of Muscovy. In fact, these beginnings in Poland appear to threaten many other kingdoms; and what wonder if they have dared to attack even Constantinople herself? I hear that you take good care of yourselves, lest this leaven should injure your people; and I am very glad of it. We shall always do the same, so far as lies in our power, and so much the more, if we are aided by your spiritual counsel, and cheered by your charity, as it is right you should be by ours; so that, with one mind embracing the orthodox faith of CHRIST, we may both go

on to fulfil the commands of our high calling, faithfully contending, and always defending the truth, to the increase of the Catholic Church, and the eternal glory of GOD the FATHER, and of His Only-Begotten SON and HOLY SPIRIT. . . . . .

"As soon as I return, I will, please GOD, look into the books sent me by the most illustrious States, and I shall read them with double relish, because they have been sent me by my lords themselves. . . . . For the book of Arminius I confess that I am in your debt; but on my return to my own home, I will take care to recompense you by some manuscript; and if I have anything else, it shall be all common to your goodness. I should be much obliged to you if you would make me an intelligible catalogue of some recent select authors, ... who have written thoughtfully and learnedly on both Testaments, especially on the books of Moses, on the greater prophets, on the Gospels and Epistles of Paul—that is, such as are most in use amongst you; and likewise other authors who have written on divinity, philosophy, and other arts, and even on mathematics, and send it to me the first opportunity. And if you would add the names of the most famous and renowned of your learned men, and appoint to me in my turn whatever may be agreeable to you from these parts, I will always readily gratify you.

"Every wish for the health of so obliging a person."

On the return of Cyril from Wallachia, he found the Church of Constantinople greatly prejudiced against him: and retired to Mount Athos. Here he remained some little time; and became possessed of that invaluable MS. of the whole Bible, known by the name of the Alexandrine, and probably written in the fifth or sixth century. We shall in the sequel hear more of this treasure. A.D. 1616.

The Turkish Government issued a mandate for the death of Cyril: the Monks conveyed him under a disguise elsewhere; and finally, Timothy was reconciled to him. Thus Cyril returned into Egypt.[1] He determined, on arriving at Cairo, to

[1] Smith, p. 20. Eng. Life, p. 249. Allatius de Consens. p. 1074. Allatius, as is too often the case, is guilty of an implied, if not an actual falsehood: he says that Cyril went into Poland (which he did not do,) and that, in the meantime, Timothy died by poison, (which he did not do.) He im-

express his sense of the innovations of the Church of Rome in the strongest possible manner:[1] and accordingly, having assembled such of the Prelates of his own Church as happened to be at hand, he delivered over to an anathema the emissaries of the Western Church. Whatever may be thought of this step, it must be remembered that these Roman Missionaries were in Egypt the direct supporters of heresy, by the unholy alliance which they formed with the Coptic Patriarch.

Council of Cairo.

It would seem, however, that Cyril had become painfully sensible of the inability of his Clergy, from want of learning, to cope with these envoys. He probably was unwilling to send them to Venice or Padua, knowing the dangers to which they would there be exposed; and still more unwilling, at this time, to trust them at Geneva, or at any of the Dutch universities. He therefore cast his eyes towards England, where Abbot filled the Chair of Canterbury. With this Prelate he seems to have opened a communication, while yet at Constantinople, through the English ambassador;[2] and to have obtained from him an assurance, that if he would send any well-qualified ecclesiastic, his education should be carried on in the best manner. Cyril made choice of a young priest named Metrophanes Critopulus:[3] recommended by his talents, the improvement he had made of his former advantages, and his good birth. By this ecclesiastic Cyril wrote the following letter to Abbot.[4]

Metrophanes Critopulus sent to England.

Cyril's first letter to Abbot.

"To the Most Blessed and Honourable the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan; one in many respects to be most highly honoured by me; let this letter, when arrived in Britain, be delivered with honour, and fitting reverence;

plies that the Patriarchate of the latter Ecclesiastic was very short; and that he died while Cyril was absent from his own Diœcese.

[1] Aymon, p. 171.

[2] Aymon, p. 52.

[3] Aymon, p. 37, 52. Simon, p. 52. Schrehard. Regn. Pers. 80.

[4] This letter is given by Colomesius at the end of his edition of Clemens Alexandrinus, in the Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum which he has there collected: pp. 326—330: also by Aymon, pp. 44—48. The original Greek has never, we believe, been published: the Latin Translation is from the pen of Dr. Featley.

"Cyril, by the Grace of God, Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge.

"I wish good health to your Worship, to the advantage and increase of the flock entrusted to you. Since we are now by the Grace of Christ returned to our Egypt, and enjoy peace in the Church, we are called upon to acquit ourselves of the promise made to your Blessedness in our former letters. Christ enjoys in no Church a profounder peace than in this of ours, since no strife nor contention respecting the Faith prevails amongst us, since the enemies of the Christian religion who are the most bitter and the most opposed, put a bridle on the tongues of those who would stir up such contentions. By whom, it is true, we are vexed and tried in many ways: and yet, for the Name of Christ which we bear in our mouths, and Whose marks we carry about with us, we are delighted to suffer affliction, and vexation, and, if need be, to undergo the severest penalty, that, by the trial, our faith may shine more and more, and the glory of God may be manifested.

"From such, then, we fear nothing: but rather from those dogs and deceitful workers, those hypocrites, who say one thing and mean another, who are audacious enough to attack God Himself, if they may only by any means assist the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff.

"These emissaries exceedingly terrify us, and impose on our simplicity, and make use of many engines to bring us under their power, trusting chiefly in the shew of erudition, and the thorny difficulties of the questions which they raise; while we, meanwhile, labour under a want of learned men, who can oppose these sophists on equal terms. For, on account of our sins we have become the most contemptible of all nations; and with the overthrow of the Empire have lost the liberal arts.

"It was continued meditation on this subject which induced me to open a communication with your Love, and to implore your counsel and assistance. But we received the greatest comfort from the reply of your Blessedness, by which, acting under the command of your king, you advised us to send some of our countrymen to study Theology amongst you with diligence.

"Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian

Church, of noble birth, and talents prepared to receive deeper learning. We trust that the advances he will make will be such as need not to be repented of, if Divine Grace will breathe on him from Heaven, and your Blessedness will lend him an assisting hand.

"And because you say that this plan is acceptable to the most serene King James the First, who is crowned by the hand of GOD, we ought to be grateful for his kindness, in which he makes a near approach to the pity and goodness of the Celestial King. In this he has fulfilled our expectations, as one whom GOD hath blessed from Heaven, and enriched with the fullest gifts of His Grace, and by His special Providence committed to his care such and so large an Empire.

"Therefore we first request your Blessedness to salute, in our name, with the most profound reverence, and with the most humble inclination of the body, His Most Gracious Majesty, to whom, from our very hearts, we desire long life and extended old age. Then we would ask him that, of his innate, and I had almost said immense goodness, he would allow some sparkle of his benevolence to shine on our Metrophanes.

"Lastly, if anything be wanting in my letter, with respect to the instruction or complete education of this man, this will easily be supplied by your prudence, which GOD has raised up, and set forth as a shining torch in an exalted place, in order that you may be able to give consolation to others, not only to your Britons, but also to our Greek countrymen.

"Farewell, most Blessed Father; may the LORD GOD grant you a long and happy life, and at the same time supply you with strength in order that you may be enabled to bear the cares of the State and of the Church.

"EGYPT, *March* 1, 1616." [*i.e.* 1617.]

We may observe that Cyril's Orientalism appears here undiminished. The Greek Church still, to use his favourite expression, carries about the marks of her Crucified LORD; and we have not a wish for union with Protestant Communities. Had it pleased GOD that this connexion should have subsisted, to what brilliant results might it have led! And yet it is impossible not to feel deep regret that Andrewes had not, according

to the general expectation of the Church, been at this time Archbishop: he might have effectually prevented Cyril's subsequent fall; and how deep an interest he had in the affairs of the Oriental Church his private devotions amply prove.

Metrophanes reached England in safety; was well received by the King and the Archbishop, and was sent to Oxford.

Abbot's reply was as follows:—[1]

"London, Nov. 17, 1617.

"GEORGE ABBOT, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, to his most holy Lord and Brother

Abbot's reply.

"CYRIL, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge, health in CHRIST.

"There are many things which testify the sympathy existing between, and the sweet agreement enjoyed by, the members of the Universal Church: but at this time, I feel it on this account especially, in that I am enabled to embrace with both arms your brotherhood whom I have never seen face to face, through divided from me by many a league of land and sea, as if present; for the unity of faith binds each to each, and the common bond of love joins us by one and the selfsame SPIRIT, by Whom we extol CHRIST, Whom we both breathe: and we heartily congratulate you on the peace which your Church enjoys, now, from your account, disturbed by no schism nor intestine commotion; and that external tranquillity which, if not altogether undisturbed, yet fills us with astonishment, which you enjoy among the bitter and determined enemies of the Christian name, according to that of the Royal Seer concerning CHRIST the King, 'Be Thou Ruler in the midst among Thine enemies.' We also request the congratulations of your piety, on the manifold gifts of GOD, poured out abundantly on the British Church. In which, to quote what your Chrysostom once said of our island, 'you may hear the people philosophising from Holy Scripture, in a strange tongue, but a familiar faith, using the language of barbarians, professing the faith of Saints.' For our people, devoted to the worship of CHRIST, is conversant in the clear light of the Gospel,

[1] This letter is only to be found in Colomesius, pp. 331—336.

and abundantly satisfies its thirst in the limpid streams of living water, without hindrance from any; and this cannot be obtained in the Churches under the obedience of the Roman Pontiff. As to discipline, we differ from the other Churches which have been purged from the dregs of Popery: we retain the most ancient form of Ecclesiastical rule, and the distinct orders of ministers. GOD, the Giver of all good things, preserve them to us for ever; though we, after the depravity of our mind, have on account of our sins, and more especially the crime of ingratitude, deserved that our golden candlestick should be removed from its place, and ourselves entirely deprived of the light of Holy Scripture. We do not ascribe the good we have received to our own merits, for we have none, but first to the Divine lovingkindness, and next, to the singular love wherewith He embraces the elect instrument of His glory, our most serene King James, who, heir both to the Crown and to the religion of Elizabeth of pious memory, confirms them by his laws, and renders them illustrious by his example. For he not only is a diligent hearer of holy discourses, and a guest at the tremendous Table of the LORD, especially in the more solemn feasts, but also, which is more than example, and the greatest thing in this great monarch,

Qui tot sustineat, qui tanta negotia solus,

he discusses learnedly the most abstruse mysteries of the schools, with the Bishops best practised in the arena of Divinity. He has also written much and accurately on Theology, and his works have lately been given to the press: they are well calculated to establish the Faith and to destroy errors, particularly those of the Romanists. I congratulate you on having obtained the entire friendship of such a King, who, on the perusal of the letters of your Holiness to myself, salutes your Blessedness, and speaks of you in the most flattering manner. And to give you a proof of his good will, he has commanded me to receive your Metrophanes in a kind and friendly manner. I will cherish him as a pledge and surety of your love to me; and will gladly supply him with whatever is necessary, or may be convenient. I have already planted this generous young shoot of a Grecian school, in a pleasant garden, where he may flourish amongst us, and in good time bring forth fruit; it is

in the University of Oxford, where there is a most excellent library, and seventeen colleges, and where a numerous race of learned men are supported at the public expense, as in a Prytanæum. Your Metrophanes is already entered on the books; and, when he has come to maturity, and brought forth fruit, then, as shall seem best to your prudence, and be most for the advantage of your Church, he shall either take deep root amongst us, or be sent back to his native soil, and there again planted.

"I have only, Most Holy Brother, to ask that your piety will commend the British Church to GOD by continual prayer, as we shall intercede for that of Greece, in like manner: that it, together with the whole Catholic Church, being surrounded with the Divine Providence as with a wall, may be confirmed in peace and love; and that it may be freed from these new emissaries who oppugn with their treachery alike Christian verity and Christian liberty. Among whom those pseudo-Monks are chiefly to be avoided, now fresh from the potter's wheel, who arrogate to themselves the name of the SAVIOUR, who, professing to seek peace, throw all things into confusion, and desiring, as they profess, truth, teach equivocation, even where it involves perjury. The Great Shepherd of the sheep preserve His whole flock from these foxes and rapacious wolves; and at the same time preserve your piety in peace and perpetual felicity."

It is plain that at this time the thoughts of Cyril were much turned to England, and that he received pretty accurate information from Metrophanes of what concerned its Church. It is plain, also, that during the year and a half following the departure of Metrophanes, he became an Apostate from the doctrine of the Eastern Church. For he addressed, in 1618, a Letter to the celebrated Archbishop of Spalatro, on his pretended relinquishment of the Roman, and junction with the English Communion. This letter has never been published. We shall, therefore, give it entire in a note; contenting ourselves here with its most important portions. Here it will be seen that Cyril stamps himself a thorough Genevan, and it proves that the influence of Le Leu Wilhem and, at a later period, Antony Leger, had not that influence on him for harm,

which those who have written his life without having seen this unhappy letter have naturally imagined,[1] since he was already an unconscious heretic.

[1] The letter is, word for word, as follows :—

"Cyrillus, Papa ac Patriarcha Alexandriæ et Judex Œcumenicus,

"Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Archiepiscopo Spalatrensi Domino Marco Antonio de Dominis, Doctissimo et Dignissimo Fratri et Domino in Jesu Christo observandissimo, Salutem et Pacem

"A D. optimo maximo precatur.

"Si licuit tibi, Pater sapientissime, zelum verè Christianum tuum, qui hoc tempore ex improviso Antichristi regnum, magno cum fructu verè fidelium perterruit, quantus sit, pro defensione veritatis, toti terrarum orbi palàm facere, attestarique illam sinceram charitatem, qua motus Catholicam Ecclesiam Christi Domini sponsam, à reprobo sensu adversariorum, purgasti, suoque pristino decore adornasti: liceat et mediocritati nostræ eâdem uti libertate, tuis humanissimis litteris rescribenti, ut inde possis evidenter conjecturare, quantum Spiritus Sanctus amoris fervorem, visceribus cordis nostri inseruerit, erga personam tuam meritissimam, quantique faciamus reformationem fidei nostræ tibi reformato per litteras communicare: ut cui sese offerunt litteræ nostræ ad legendum, sese offerat et animus ad intelligendum* enucleatè viam salutis, quam ambulamus; dummodo ad hoc faciendum, non qualemcunque ansam servissima tua epistola præbuit. Certè nulla inter nos antea interponebatur notitia, ego tamèn, postquam primum ab amicis acceperam nuncium, de tuâ profectione ex Italiâ, sollicitus aliquid audire certi, nunquam quievissem anxius esse, donec à quodam viro Batavo, hic in Ægypto mercante, allato mihi libello suæ profectionis rationem continente intellexissem, te jam appulisse Hagam Comitanam; indeque migrasse in Angliam. Gratias agebam Domino, qui Tuam sanctitatem salvam eo conduxerat: receptæque in tali portu, quasi præsenti gratulabar; præsertim cùm undequâque optimum successum sui consilii animadverterem. Et quidem mens præsaga mea aliquid aliud de personâ Tuâ intelligere expectabat: sed quid nesciebam, quia tamen sæpè in familiari conversatione cum diversis, sui nominis fiebat mentio, credebam in mente hoc nasci meâ, ex colloquiorum imaginibus. Illud verò longè aliter se habuisse sum expertus, mihi enim Spiritus Sanctus quasi dictitabat, fore ut Charitas Christiana Tua ad orientem ûsque extenderetur, id quod jam exequutum vidimus, cùm unà cum suis litteris liber ad nos mitteretur, liber ille de Republicâ ecclesiasticâ. Partus ille Tuus, Pater doctissime, immortale Tui nominis monimentum, de quo si quod sentimus, ulterius significaverimus: non adulantes hoc facimus, sed admirantes Spiritus Sancti gratiam, quæ clemens in Suam ecclesiam fecit ex corde tuo similem fontem erumpere, itaque decurrere, ut suo impetu, et continuatione non reliquerit in Ecclesia paleam, aliudque genus luti, quod non abjecerit in mare, et in profundum demerserit. Actum jam est de Romano pontifice et Christus posthac ecclesiæ Suæ caput erit. Ægrotabam quando mihi liber et litteræ à latore oblata fuerant: decumbens in lecto, sine morâ, perlegeram litteras; mox ubi de libro, de Argumento, de Authore, constavit, librum mihi dari petieram, diuque amplexus non abstinuissem lectione, donec mihi medici presentia non pro-

* A line seems omitted here.

"Cyril, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge, to the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Archbishop of Spalatro, Mark Antony de Dominis, his most learned

Cyril's letter to De Dominis.

hibuisset. Aderat medicus, pulsum quærebat: ego ei librum porrigebam, est enim Religione Pontificius. Quid ille ad me? placet tuæ sanctitati audire? nil aliud quam quod ynanimes de Tua persona fingunt Pontificii, nempè, quia negata est tibi ambienti Cardinalatûs dignitas, istam apostasiam excogitasse: quasi sit apostasia velle aliquem in sinceritate et libertate conscientiæ deservire, neque Romanæ statuæ tollerare ambitiosissimis deludi mandatis; vel quasi sit apostasia, doctrinam humanis somniis ortam relinquere, et Orthodoxæ, quæ ad unguem verbo DEI consentit, adhærere. Quod si amentia extrema, cæcitasque non est, quid unquam aliud sit, nescio. Non pudet tamen optimos Romanæ Aulæ asseclas, hisce deliriis, viris Catholicis, et Apostolicis, veræ fidei Christianæ propugnatoribus, et propagatoribus, et qui aliis præbuerunt exemplum, jugum Antichristi à se ut excutiant, et mendaciter detrahere, et falsò apostasiam, et hæresim exprobrare. Enimverò quæ quis sine justitia, sine fundamento, sine CHRISTO loquitur, subinde clamitet, vociferet, sibi nocet, non cui putat nocere posse: impia enim Semei maledictio innocentem Davidem non tetigit, sed in caput reflexa maledictoris, hominem sontem perdidit. Sic ego amplexus librum, pergebam amicis visitantibus communicare; intra domum meam legere, unicuique permittebam; extra non patiebar afferi, cum jam mihi constaret, hanc ob causam, Pontificios esse perculsos cordolio. Certè, illustrissime Archiepiscope, lethale vulnus sentit Aula Romana, sentietque in æternum, quot ei vibrarit tela, quot ictus intulerit liber iste de Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ. Tua prudentia non est loquuta secretò, palàm enim loquuta: non est, quod terra sileat, ubi sol et cœlum testes sunt. Sed quod magis nos consolatur, illud est, quod hoc argumentum, non ita seriò tractatum ab aliis, vel saltem tantâ varietate, quod sciam, DEUS Optimus Maximus Tuam prudentiam implevit Spiritu Sancto suo, ut et sapienter tractares, et Ecclesiam Orientis à multis calumniis vindicaret: ut nobis sat sit in posterum frameam istam in manu habentibus, adversus jactantiam intolerabilem Allophylorum ipsiusque spurii Goliath, fœliciter decertare. Meritò igitur gratias Tuæ charitati refert referetque semper Oriens, Pater Reverendissime; et si jam Fratres mei sanctissimi Patriarchæ sub Turcicâ tyrannide non, oppressi quotidianis ærumnis, gustare possent, quàm sint suavia, quæ tractantur in hoc Thesauro, forsan non ingrati, idem quod ego et sentirent, et majus quid facere properarent; sed excusandi, quod non datur eis. Hinc ergo concipiat Tua prudentia, quam charus nobis sit liber iste. At si in operosâ imagine perfecti pictoris, musca spectatori displicuit, ut inde si posset libens auferret, non erit mirum si et nobis hoc unum in libro non placuit: quando illam illusionem, potius quam legationem Alexandrinam prout vocat Tua prudentia ex Baronio veram fuisse crediderit: cum revera impostura fuerit cujusdam Coptæ, vel Eutichiani, qui se, Romam profectus, Alexandrini Patriarchæ Legatum falsò professus fuerit: ante verò patefactum dolum, adulatores Clementis habuerunt miranda, vel scribere, vel concionari de legatione istâ, quasi tempus instaret, quod sub Romano Pontifice, unum ovile terrarum orbis esse deberet. At creato

and worthy brother and lord, in JESUS CHRIST, health and peace.

"If you have been able, most worthy Father, to manifest to the

Paulo fraudeque detectâ, ille bonus legatus Româ clam ejectus, ne forsan palàm fieret comœdia, hûc in Ægyptum se retulerat, et quæ supererunt ei ex Romanâ Camerâ; ad obitum usque incude erogaverat. Istam ergo imposturam, innocenter legationem vocatam animadverto, quia Tua prudentia non impostori, sed scriptori crediderat. At longè aliter res se habuit: sicuti et illa Ruthenorum Episcoporum Historia, de qua, quia tunc ego nuncium Alexandrinum agebam in Poloniâ, Primasque cum meo collegâ Constantinopolitano Legato, inter totam Ruthenorum nationem, in Concilio Brestiensi intereram, contrà eosdem ipsos Episcopos, qui Romam profecti fuerant, congregato, plura scribere haberem: nisi frustra fraudes, Tecnas, stratagemata, Pontificiorum recensendo, tempus terere vellem, et tuâ abuti patientiâ; non tamen culpo Tuam prudentiam, quia fideliter recitavit, quæ antea alii scripserant: alias felix iste partus tuus est quod dignus te digno parente omni sæculo prædicetur. Quantum deinde nobis placuerit Tua profectio in illas partes, ubi liberrimè possis CHRISTI Ecclesiam defendere adversus calumniatores, veritatem profiteri, tractare, scribere, non valemus exponere; neque quis est, qui secundùm CHRISTUM sapiat, qui non mirificè istam deliberationem approbaverit ac laudaverit: multique prudentes actum istum, verè nobilem, generosum, et Christianum tuæ sanctitatis, sibi ad exemplum proponentes, sperandum, ut suæ libertati potius consulere velint, quam ut jumenta sub fræno Antichristi perpetuo conscientiæ morsu miserè agitari. Nos per DEI gratiam, in infidelium imperio, et si detrimenta in temporalibus patiamur: illa tamèn pro nihilo reputamus, dum libertate in SPIRITU SANCTO potimur, liberèque Evangelium salutis prædicamus. Eramus et nos aliquando fascinati, antequàm quid esset purum putum Verbum DEI cognosceremus: et quamvis cum Romano Pontifice non communicaremus, neque ipsum prout se profitetur, pro capite, scilicet, Ecclesiæ, acceptaremus: credebamus tamèn, præter quædam pauci momenti, in quibus Græca Ecclesia dissentit a Latina, dogmata Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ vera esse, doctrinam verò reformatarum Ecclesiarum, ut inimicam veritati abhominabamur, re ipsa nescientes quid abhominabamur. Ubi verò DEO placuit misericordi nos illuminare, ut animadvertaremus quo in errore versabamur, maturè cogitare incepimus, quid opus esset facere: et sicut boni civis est, in seditione aliquâ justiori causæ adhærere, pro illâ stare, illamque defendere; ita magis, boni Christiani esse, in me ipso decernebam, in rebus ad salutem pertinentibus, non dissimulare; sed ingenuè illam partem amplecti, quæ magis est Verbo DEI consentanea. Quid ergo feci? libris aliquot Evangelicorum Doctorum, quos oriens noster, non quod nunquam viderit, sed neque utrum essent obstantibus Pontificiis censuris, nunquàm audiverit, operâ et favore amicorum acquisitis, SPIRITU SANCTO assiduis orationibus invocato, per Triennium doctrinam Græcæ, et Latinæ Ecclesiæ, cum ea quæ est reformatæ collavi: sensim collando comperiebam in veritate sapere, quæ prius falsò sapiebam: in Tribunali conscientiæ justum me judicem constituebam: titubabam aliquando, sed justâ lance sententias partium ponderabam; missis Patribus, Scripturæ adhærebam, et fidei Ana-

whole world that truly Christian zeal, which at this time hath unexpectedly terrified the kingdom of Antichrist to the great edification of the Faithful, and to give proof of that sincere charity whereby you have purged the Catholic Church, the

logiæ. Tandem per DEI gratiam, quia justiorem causam esse reformatorum cognovi, CHRISTIQUE doctrinæ magis congruam, isti me applicui. Non amplius patiar asserentes audire, sacræ Scripturæ humanarum Traditionem commenta æquiparari. De peccato originali: quod radicitus evelli delerique prorsus, et tolli, in regenerationis lavacro, communiter tenetur apud nos, experientia ipsa et docti minimè tolli, sed reliquum in nobis, prout instruimur et ab ipso Verbo DEI, non imputari, tenemus et credimus. Liberum Arbitrium in non renatis esse non servum, sed plusquàm servum, id qui non videt oculos non habet: in renatis verò indubitanter ex secretis cordis motibus, et deliberationibus, et inspirationibus per CHRISTUM DOMINUM, liberatum esse cognoscimus, quamvis sine prævenienti et concomitanti gratia, oportet servum sit, liberum non sit.

"In Articulo de Justificatione, in quo somniabamur nostras sordes mereri; et plus in illas quàm in CHRISTUM DOMINUM sperabamus: Jam quàm sit pernitiosa humanæ justitiæ inhærentia, expergefacti animadvertimus: in solamque DEI Omnipotentis misericordiam, propter CHRISTI Salvatoris et Mediatoris meritum fide apprehensum, comparatam respicimus, indeque totam justitiam nostram pendere, et contingere, et corde credimus, et ore profitemur: tanquam pannum menstruatum nostra opera reputantes. Nec ideo quis putabit, opera bona negligenda, nos asserere: hoc procul à nobis: imò consequenter illa necessaria esse volumus, et asserimus, ut justificanti fidei nostræ sint vera signa, et testimonia, in confusionem Dæmonis persequutoris, et in gloriam DOMINI nostri justificatoris. In Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ constanter credimus adesse CHRISTUM: non fictè nec simulatè, sed verè ac propriè, essentialiter ac realiter, id quod convincunt verba DOMINI, "Quod datur pro vobis:" sed in modo præsentiæ dissentit Ecclesia Græca nostra, tùm aliis qui admittunt Chimeram transubstantiationis, tùm ab erroneâ ubiquitariorum sententiâ: modum non prædicandi in institutione sacramentalem et Divinum, secundum morem evangelii pluribus in locis servatum, esse non dubitamus: in eâ non manente subjecti naturâ, per vocabula veritas prædicati, quod est invisibile, significatur, præsensque cum re subjectâ adesse creditur: sole lucidius testantur hoc verba institutoris, dicentis de Symbolis, 'Hoc est Corpus Meum. Et hoc est Sanguis Meus.' Mirum est, quot in ambagibus, quot inconvenientibus, quotque in præcipitiis incidant Pontificii transubstantiationem defendentes, ut melius novit Tua sapientia. At hoc est magis mirum, quod non animadvertant desuper cæcitate perculsos, vel justo DEI judicio induratos vel nolle vel non valere, quid DOMINI præceptum præ se ferat intelligere: quidque verba ipsa DOMINI propriè significent: sed simplicitatis verbi Divini obliti, susque deque evertunt omnia, ut transubstantiationem inauditam et inusitatam introducant: sicut et fictam illam pernicieque plenam concomitantiam excogitarunt, ut auferrent miseris oviculis, alterius speciei, nempè laicis communionem, quam Ipse Institutor præcisè, ut habet textus, omnibus esse communem ordinaverat. Sed quùm in hâc materiâ, et quædam alia quæstio agitatur de indignorum

Bride of CHRIST the LORD, from the ill meaning of its adversaries, and adorned it with its pristine beauty; our humbleness may also use the same liberty, in replying to your kind letter,

manducatione, nos certè tenemus, à solis fidelibus manducantibus verè sumi Corpus et Sanguinem DOMINI meritò, ab hoc tàm magno omnique reverentia digno mysterio, infidelitatem, et hypocrisem excludentes: qui verò non spiritualiter, sed spurcis dentibus sacrosanctum Corpus DOMINI mandere insipienter blaterant, illos ego sentio ignorantiâ et abusione delusos, nullum inde fructum sibi capere.

"De cultu imaginum, si non antea, modò autem quàm evaserit perniciosus, dici haud potest. Testis DEUS mihi est, quod deploro presentem Orientis statum, quod non videam modum, quo possit mederi huic tàm deformi, obscœnoque ulceri: non quod simpliciter judicem spernendas imagines, cum non adoratæ per se nil possint affere mali: sed Idolatriam cæcis cultoribus causatam abhorream. Et quamvis in privatis Orationibus observarim aliquandò, menti meæ subvenisse Crucifixi imaginem, cum offeret commodius speculandum actum ipsum Passionis Dominicæ, quia tamèn video, jam vulgum, ut non de multis qui se sapientes esse credunt affirmem, præcipitem ferri à vero et spirituali cultu, atque latriâ, quæ uni soli DEO Optimo Maximo debetur: mallem, ut omnes universè istâ ansâ tàm periculosâ abstineant, quàm ignoranter legem DOMINI violantes in lapidem infringant offensionis; et sic se atrociter in æternum condemnent. Invocationes sanctorum, quàm obfuscent CHRISTI DOMINI gloriam antehâc non capiebam, sed obstinatè quondam, adversus virum doctum Marcum Fuxium Transylvanum per duo mea scripta defendebam. At ille suo responso, ita mea refutavit argumenta, ut non mihi fuerit opus amplius aliâ lectione, ut errorem meum cognoscerem: et nunc DOMINUM testor, in recitandis publicis officiis, summo dolore, tantis circumstantiis audio invocari sanctos, relicto JESU CHRISTO, observoque quàm inde magnum detrimentum animabus redundet. Sicut ergo in istis, ita me Tua sanctitas sciat in pluribus aliis reformatum: cognovi enim per DEI gratiam, quid sit habere pro certâ et securâ normâ salutis verbum DEI, et quid humana somnia, placitaque, sequi: quidque sit super fundamentum preciosa ædificare, et quid ligna fœnum et stipulam. Eramus, ut jam superius scripsi, et nos aliquando fascinati, at nunc fascino illo Dæmonis, quia DEI esse non poterat, salvati novimus id, quod et coram DEO, coramque hominibus, non veremur testari: nempè doctrinam Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ in multis claudicare, neque DEI verbo congruere, imò falsam esse: eamque dum perversis expositionibus, inauditis regulis, inusitatis distinctionibus, aliisque hujus generis repagulis et portentis fulcire conantur novitii cacodæmones Romanæ aulæ assentatores, ita turpem reddunt, ut videantur horrendum aliquod monstrum mundo conflare, non doctrinam evangelicam proponere: quia verò objicere quis posset, me ob privatam aliquam passionem in ecclesiam pontificiam invehi, missam faciens Græcam, cui esset quid opponendum, testor DEUM, hoc me facere, quia conscientia ut hoc faciam me urget: aliâs candor animi non tolerat, ut excusem ecclesiam Græcam, in quibus et prout excusari non debet: neque unquam inficias ibo observasse ipsam ex parte aliquâ Pontificios errores amplexam, multasque superstitiones, in illis adhuc usque perseverare. At si quis quæreret rationem quare sic ecclesiæ Græcæ acciderit, merito respondetur, ecclesiam Pontificiam hujus mali esse causam: ex quo

and give you evident proof, how deeply the HOLY GHOST hath sown in our hearts the fervour of love towards your most worthy person, and how much we desire to communicate the

enim ambire incæpit primatum, CHRISTUM de solio majestatis detrudere, sibique gloriam Altissimi comparare, factum est, quia non apparet hoc impudenter usurpare, sed legitimè hæreditare ut multa commenta, multas innovationes excogitavit: unde tanquam ex lacunis scaturiebant non dogmata, quæ postea confirmabant extravagantes, decreta, bullæ, fulmina, et pestes aliæ: quæ cum irrepsissent paulatim in mentes hominum, facies Apostolicæ mutata ecclesiæ, non amplius Apostolica, sed Pontificia evasit.

"Hinc molita magno studio et Orientem subjicere, unà secum et ipsum præcipitavit: ut cui tanquam vicino astutè semper proprios errores, per epistolas, per Legatos, per aliorum doctorum operam, impartiebat, et quamvis Orientales sæculi antepenultimi aliqua observarint, ob quæ communionem ei prorsus abdicarint, non tamèn tot errorum funestam, latentemque pestem, in conscientiarum perniciem, uno flatu animadvertere potuerunt: donec Turcicâ captivitate superadditâ, ecclesia Græca decreverit, relictis unicuique suis, inventos terminos non prætereundum, in illis standum, manendum, quia sic faciendo putarunt Orientales fidem in CHRISTUM obscurari non posse, minuique Christianam pietatem. At minus cauta non capiebat, quod jam ante captivitatem infecta, indigebat seriâ reformatione; et nunc perseverans, eosdemque gressus, quos Pontificia, calcans, in eandem foveam ruit: comprehenditur hinc origo, ob quam Ecclesiæ Orientis Pontificiorum errores admiserit. Sed hoc non est quod ita me premat: quia fundamento Orthodoxè retento, successu temporis, per fidelem operam doctorum, possent reliqua corrigi, et reformari: sicut vidimus, et factum audivimus, in multis orbis terrarum partibus, per multa mundi lumina: quod verò malè me habet, illud est, quod Antichristi satellites totum Orientem quasi occuparint, profundâ vestiti Hypocrisi animos simplicium non desistunt corrumpere; et sub falso cortice Catholicismi, familias fascinare, juventutem seducere, ad unum respicientes finem Primatum Pontificium dilatare: deinde siquis ex adverso, sese eorum conatibus opposuerit, sine morâ traducitur, scismaticus, Hæreticus esse, adversus Patres loqui, adversus Concilia: præterea doctrinam eis oppositam Lutheri et Calvini esse: de quibus suadent populis, potius expedire angues in sinu fovere, manibus tractare, quam eorum scriptis, eorum doctrinæ attendere: ita subtiles sunt isti circulatores, ad fraudandas simplicium conscientias: et multi sunt qui judicent pessum ituram Ecclesiam Græcam, nisi maturè provideatur.

"Et ego antehâc huic gangrenæ quia prævidebam occurere oportere, adversusque ejus malitiam ire, consideratâ negocii necessitate ad Primatem Florentissimæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, nempè ad Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem scripsi: ut Fratrem in CHRISTO compellavi, ut prudentissimo pastori ulcus meæ graciæ* compendiosè aperui, ut opem ferret petii. Sua Beatitudo Serenissimo et Sapientissimo Magno Regi Jacobo, quem unicum ætas nostra vidit: verum Regem, verumque philosofum, quæ meæ litteræ continebant, exposuit. Sua Majestas Regia responsum dedit, quale Regem Piissimum, CHRISTUM DOMINUM instar sygilli in corde gestantem, dare decebat: nempè, ut rationem meæ petitionis habere

* Perhaps *mei gregis*.

reformation of our faith, to you who are one of the reformed: that when our letter offers itself to you to be read, our mind may also offer itself to be understood." He then goes on to

velit: et cùm non poterat latere Regiam Sapientiam, quam DEO sit gratum ob justam causam periclitantibus opitulari: suo hoc vel Decreto Regio, vel mandato, vel et paterno consilio, orbi terrarum præbuit conjecturandum zelum Christianum, qui cor Regium suum urit: et quo animo jam existat circa veritatem fidei promovendæ atque defensandæ: accepto isto responso, pro sua humanitate rescripserat ad me Sua Beatitudo: et quàm promptè exequi velit, quod scripseram, significavit: id quod ipso effectu nunc adimplet: exhibens se plusquàm gratiosum patrem meo Metrofani: et certe vehemens nostrum hoc desiderium ut in Oriente aspiciamus aliquos, qui benè meriti de fide CHRISTI, valeant eandem fidem à corruptorum calumniis vendicare, orthodoxiam populum docere, animos hominum reformare, eorum conscientias cibo merè Evangelico alere, reliquaque ad pristinum Apostolicum statum restituere, ut tandem CHRISTUS DOMINUS in Ecclesiâ Suâ glorietur, non Antichristus, et ejus familia.

"Laboramus nos in præsentiarum, et pro virili hostium nulli, Dextera DEI adjuvante vineam CHRISTI, cedimus: et tàm majorem laborem experimur, quàm subsidiis multorum Fratrum destituimur: non tamen spe, non animo, non amicis destituimur: unus mihi ultra quàm satis fuit amicus elapso tempore, nobilissimus vir Cornelius Haga, apud Turcam, nomine Illustrissimorum ordinum Hollandiæ, orator præstantissimus: illius me multoties favor, illius me juvarunt consilia: neque est, quod metum incutiat adversariorum vel astutia vel potentia: Illius enim causam agimus, Qui sapientes, in astutia ipsorum apprehendit: Quique potens est, Pharaonis ut quondam Tyranni, in nihilum iterum reducere superbiam. Nos magna fiducia armati in nomine DOMINI, temerarios et audaces semper à nobis et ovibus nostris constanter arcebimus: quod facilius nobis succedet, si adjuti fuerimus ab orationibus totius florentissimæ Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ, ut jam confidimus, unàque Tuæ sanctitatis: ad quam ita prolixe scribo suadens mihi Tuam humanitatem boni consulturam meam prolixitatem. Deinde quia expressius habeat meæ secum in SPIRITU SANCTO communionis signum, et argumentum, dilatare rationis esse duxi epistolam: ex qua ulterius conjectet, si jam zelus noster soporatus dormiat: dummodo ut illum suscitemus, hortatur Fides in CHRISTUM Catholica et Apostolica, professio Evangelica, fervor spiritus vehemens: reliquum est, ut magnanimiter militemus: nostram crucem tollamus: CHRISTUM sequamur: et si nos ulterius turbare, persequi, calumniare, hostes nostræ salutis voluerint, aliaque inferre malorum genera, quæ Evangelicæ doctrinæ professoribus sunt soliti impii Carnifices, Antichristi propugnatores, faciant; sumant quod placet supplicium; libenti animo patiemur: nullum discrimen declinabimus, propter testimonium conscientiæ, propter infirmorum in veritate confirmationem. Unicum habentes scopum, quando nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, nec effere quicquam possimus; cum vagus* transeat ista lux, et spiret ista vita; ut CHRISTUM DOMINUM, unicam spem nostram lucremur, Suâque gloriâ in sempiternâ pace fruamur. Quod nobis per suam misericordiam concedat omnipotens DEUS, ob veritatem oppresso-

* Here again is some corruption.

say that he has become acquainted with the Archbishop's flight from Italy, his journey to the Hague, and his subsequent voyage to England. His previous acquaintance with the character of the writer added to his pleasure in receiving a copy of the *De Republica Christiana*, which De Dominis, it seems, had forwarded him, and of which he speaks in the most flattering terms. "I was ill," he continues, "and confined to my bed, when your book and your letter were brought to me. I instantly read the letter; and as soon as I understood what the book was, what the argument, and who the author, I called for the work, took it in my hands, and did not desist from its perusal, until the visit of my physician put a stop to it. The physician came and felt my pulse; I handed to him the book, for he is a Romanist by religion. What said he? Does your Holiness wish to hear? Nothing else than the general accusation of the Romanists, that it was the refusal of the dignity of the Cardinalate for which you are anxious, that caused you to fall into your apostacy." We may just remark that this plain speaking of Cyril's could not be very agreeable to his correspondent; inasmuch as the subsequent conduct of the Archbishop made it but too likely that the accusation in question had been true. "As if it were apostacy to obey sincerity, and liberty of conscience, and no longer to tolerate the ambition and delusions of the Roman Pontiff! As if it were apostacy to leave a doctrine founded on human dreams, and to adhere to that Orthodox Faith which exactly consents with the Word of GOD!" He proceeds to dwell on the wound which, in his opinion, the work had inflicted on Rome, and then mentions the only objection which had occurred to him against it. "This one thing I consider a fault, that your prudence, misled by Baronius, took that Alexandrian illusion for a real embassy. It was nothing in the world but the imposture of some Copt or Eutychian who went to Rome, and gave himself out for a Legate of the Patriarch of Alexandria. Before the discovery of the trick, the flatterers of Clement wrote

rum admirabilis et adjutor, et liberator: Cujus gratia et benedictio cum Tuâ sanctitate semper sit: eamque custodiat et conservat incolumem, ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ gloriam multarumque animarum utilitatem. Amen.

"Expecto ut mihi mittat alterum Tomum de Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ: ut non mutilum, sed integrum suum partum tractem in amplexu; bene valeat. Datæ in Ægypto Septembris die 6, 1618."

and preached wonders of this Legation, as if the time were at hand, when the whole world should be one Fold under the Roman Pontiff. But on the creation of Paul, and detection of the fraud, the Legate was secretly banished from Rome, lest the farce should be discovered; and returned to Egypt. . . . . The case was the same, in that History of the Russian Bishops, of which I might speak, because I was then Nuncio from Alexandria in Poland, the Legate of Constantinople being my colleague, and was present among the whole nation of the Russians in the Council of Brzesc, assembled against those very Bishops who had been to Rome, unless it were useless to waste time, and to abuse your patience by entering into the deceits, wiles, and stratagems of the Romanists."

He proclaims his apostacy from the doctrine of the Eastern Church.

After a few more observations he proceeds in formal terms to announce his apostacy from the doctrine of the Oriental Church. "There was a time, when we were bewitched, before we understood what was the very pure Word of GOD; and although we did not communicate with the Roman Pontiff, nor receive him for what he gave himself out, namely, the Head of the Church, yet we believed that except in some matters of little moment in which the Greek Church differs from the Latin, the dogmas of the Roman Communion were true; and we abominated the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, as opposed to the Faith, in good truth not knowing what we abominated. But when it pleased the Merciful GOD to enlighten us, and to give us understanding of our former error, we began to reflect what it was our duty to do; and as it is the part of a good citizen in any sedition to defend the juster cause, much more did I think it the duty of a good Christian not to dissimulate his sentiments in matters pertaining to salvation; but ingenuously to embrace that side which is most consentaneous to the Word of GOD. What then did I do? Having obtained, through the kindness of friends, some writings of Evangelical Doctors, which the East have not only never seen but, through the influence of the censures of Rome, never even heard of, I invoked earnestly the assistance of the HOLY GHOST, and for three years compared the doctrine of the Greek and Latin Church with that of the Reformed."

It is difficult to say, of what three years this is to be under-

stood. But it is probable, however, from the letter which Cyril addressed while in Wallachia to M. Uytenbogaert, that he commenced the study of the books furnished him by the States as soon as possible after his return to Constantinople, perhaps during his residence in the Holy Mountain. "I left the Fathers, and took for my guide Scripture, and the Analogy of Faith alone. At length, through the Grace of GOD, because I discovered that the cause of the Reformers was the more just, and more in accordance with the doctrine of CHRIST, I embraced it. I can no longer endure to hear men say that the comments of human tradition are of equal weight with Holy Scripture. With respect to original sin, it is commonly believed among us, to be entirely extirpated, destroyed, and removed in the Laver of Regeneration. But taught by experience itself, as also instructed by the very Word of GOD, we hold and believe that it is not removed, but remains in us; being no longer however imputed to us. . . . . On the article of Justification, with respect to which we believed that our vileness could have merit, and trusted in it more than in our LORD CHRIST; now we comprehend how pernicious is the doctrine of inherent righteousness, and we look only to the mercy of ALMIGHTY GOD, bestowed on us on account of the merit, apprehended by Faith, of CHRIST, our SAVIOUR and Mediator. Thence we believe in our heart, and profess with our lips, that all our righteousness hangs; regarding all our works as filthy rags. . . . . In the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper we constantly believe that CHRIST is present, not feignedly and symbolically, but truly and properly, essentially and really, as the Words of our LORD prove, 'which is given for you.' With respect to the manner of the Presence, our Greek Church is at variance both with those who adopt the chimera of transubstantiation, and with the erroneous opinion of the Ubiquitaries." On this point he dwells at some length; and ends by affirming,—most decidedly thereby contradicting his own Church, that the faithful alone receive the LORD'S Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist. And the same judgment is equally true of the passages which follow.

His heresy on Justification.

"As for Image Worship, it is impossible to say, how pernicious under present circumstances it is. GOD is my witness that I deplore the present state of the East, because I can see no

method by which this ugly and shameful wound can be healed. Not that I think that Images are absolutely speaking to be condemned, since when not adored they cannot occasion any mischief; but I abhor the idolatry which they cause to these blind worshippers. And although in my private prayers I have sometimes observed that the Crucifix was an assistance to my mind, as bringing more readily before it the act itself of the Passion, yet because I see that the vulgar, not to say it of some who are wise enough in their own opinions, are carried away from the true and spiritual worship and latria which is due to GOD alone, I had rather that all would entirely abstain from this so perilous handle of sin, rather than that by ignorantly violating GOD's law, they should stumble on the rock of offence, and condemn themselves eternally. As for invocations of Saints, time was, when I did not perceive how they eclipsed the glory of our LORD CHRIST, and I obstinately defended them by two works against the learned Transylvanian Marcus Fuxia. But in his answer, he so completely refuted my arguments, that I had need of no other book to prove my error; and now I call the LORD to witness, that, in reciting the Public Office, it gives me the greatest pain to hear the Saints invoked circumstantially to the dereliction of JESUS CHRIST, and the great detriment of souls."

He thence goes on to speak of the pretensions of the Roman Church, and of the bitterness with which it pursued its opponents. He mentions the letter which he had written to Abbot, compliments that Primate, King James, and the English Church generally, and concludes by requesting De Dominis, to forward to him the second volume of his work so soon as it should be published.

Cyril in correspondence with Le Leu de Wilhem.

At this time, Cyril was again unfortunately exposed to Calvinistic influence. M. David le Leu de Wilhem, a Dutch gentleman of good fortune,[1] and liberal education, was at this time travelling in Egypt; and in consequence, it is probable, of the previous correspondence between Cyril and Uytenbogaert, was introduced to, and enjoyed considerable intimacy with the Patriarch. Fourteen of the notes addressed to him by Cyril are still extant; from these we shall make some extracts. Half of them are written in Italian, half in Latin. Cyril's Latin style is ex-

[1] Aymon, p. 193.

tremely bad: yet it speaks much for his diligence, that he should have been able to write with ease in four languages: Arabic, Greek, Latin, and Italian. We shall again use, in some passages, Dr. Beaven's translation.

"I account all worldly things worthless. I have no ambition, no desire, except to be always learning something.[1] If you have lent me so many authors, in the perusal of whom I had become acquainted with, and learned so many things which were never before heard of amongst us, what wonder is it that I should thank you? Indeed, if you have any more to lend me, you need not doubt that I will thank you again."

"I have read Rainoldus, and I have not been displeased with what he says upon the subject of idolatry; for, by the grace of GOD, I do not fall in with that error, as I hope to explain sufficiently in the Catechism which I intend to offer to my brethren of the East."

Here we see the zeal with which Wilhem had applied himself to so promising a convert. Doubtless, it was by his instigation that the Patriarch undertook to propagate his novel creed. The next letter shews more clearly the deterioration of his views.

"I rejoice that we agree in the most necessary points (τὰ καίρια) of faith.[2] I approve the whole of the scheme which you have drawn out, which I think may be serviceable for the reformation of the Church. I am of opinion that all those points might be reduced to three; and that if they could be discarded, and their opposites introduced, reformation would be easy. Let *ambition, covetousness,* and *superstition,* be exploded, and *humility* (after CHRIST's example), *contempt of earthly things,* and the *simplicity* of the Gospel be introduced instead, and our desires would be easily obtained. In the Church of Rome there is no room to expect it; for we already know too well that they hate the name of reformation, and obstinately defend their doctrines."

In another letter, we find another earnest request for books. Wilhem was evidently leading the mind of Cyril more and more

[1] Aymon, p. 174. The translation is Dr. Beaven's.

[2] Aymon, p. 175. The translation is Dr. Beaven's.

astray. It appears that two principal subjects of their conferences were the Holy Eucharist, and Fasting. Cyril thus speaks of the former.

"I have seen all that you have written on the LORD's Supper. The first opinion is that of the Romans, the second that of the Lutherans, the third that of the orthodox; and that is the one which I follow."[1]

What this opinion of the orthodox was, Cyril explains in another place. "He who approaches in faith to the Table of the LORD, receives not only the visible Sacrament of the Body and Blood, but participates internally and spiritually in the Very Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST." He directly after acknowledges himself to agree entirely with Wilhem on this point, we may charitably hope from ignorance of what his real sentiments were.

In another letter he thus speaks:

"Since you desire to be informed whether there are any Nestorians here, or other kind of heretics,[2] you must know that, besides the Copts, there are the Armenians and Nestorians; who, when they came here first, kept themselves concealed. This is not more than fifteen years ago; but now I see that they are spread into two streets [*contradi,*] and the Copts communicate with them, the blind with the blind. They have a place of worship assigned to them out of Cairo, named the church of S. Menas, where they go every Sabbath and Lord's-day to perform Divine worship; but in doctrine, knowledge, and habits, they are much inferior to the Copts; amongst whom I believe you are already aware what troubles were caused by the death of their Abuna or Patriarch. The poor wretches go on from bad to worse, and one can expect no other end but their total ruin, because they will not place themselves under our government; which, as my predecessors tried for many years with loss, and in vain, I have determined not to undertake.

Continued progress of Cyril's fall.

"There is here at present a Monk of the Order of S. Francis,

[1] Aymon, p. 181.

[2] Aymon, p. 190. This letter is written in alternate paragraphs of Latin and Italian. It affords as curious a specimen of Latinity as that to De Dominis, *e. g.* "Collavi sua notata cum textu Bellarmini," I have compared your notes with the text of Bellarmine.

who preaches in the house of the Venetian Consul. He professes to be acquainted with many languages, but, in two visits which he paid me, I found out that his greatest force lay in arguing after the manner of the Scotists."

The following is curious; and shews that Cyril's mind was more and more alienated from his own Church.[1]

"That was an uncivil person who forbad your gentlemen to enter the choir; but you know well that we must forgive errors of ignorance. I feel sure that you will make little account of it, as well as of the picture. I trust that I have that picture painted on my heart by the hand of GOD, and that with it I am sealed. Let who will make any others. If I could reform my Church, I would do it willingly; but GOD knows that it is talking of impossibilities."

The breaking out of the plague at Cairo caused M. de Wilhem to leave the place: he sent a pair of globes as his parting present to Cyril.

Great Plague at Cairo.

This was in the early part of the spring of 1619: and we do not see that self-devotion in Cyril which we might have hoped, in the account which he gives us of his behaviour during the continuance of this tremendous judgment.[2]

"They reckon," he says, "up to this day, that four hundred thousand have died; and yet the corners, I might almost say the whole streets, of this vast city are yet full, and it does not seem as if one were wanting. I remained shut up with great danger in my house, and let down from my windows the answers which I had to make to my Christians respecting the dead: and by the Grace of GOD am safe up to this time."

Shortly afterwards, Timothy, the successful rival of Cyril, departed this life,[3] and the government of the Throne of Constantinople, during the vacancy, devolved on Cyril.[4] The atrocious calumny of Allatius, which Le Quien has disgraced himself by repeating, must not be passed over in silence.

[1] Aymon, p. 193.

[2] Aymon, p. 197.

[3] We know not why Le Quien places this event in 1619. Neophytus II. ascended for the second time the Œcumenical Throne in 1605 or 1606. (A.G. 7113.) He held it five years: the See was vacant two years: Timothy held it eight years: Timothy therefore died in 1621. What the Index of Renaudot means, ἀχκγ', Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας ἕως οὗ γέγονε νόμιμος πατριάρχης, χρόνους β' we do not know.

[4] Le Quien, i. 332. Phil. Cyp. 16.

Death of Timothy of Constantinople.

It is said that Von Haga,[1] anxiously desirous to see Cyril in possession of the Œcumenical Throne, determined to remove Timothy by poison; that to this end he employed Apollonius of Chios to prepare the drugs, which were mixed in wine; that Timothy was then invited to a splendid banquet at the Ambassador's house; that Josaphat, an Archimandrite, and an Andrian by birth, tempted him to take the poison; that it was not sufficient to be mortal; that Apollonius was called in; and that by a second dose he effectually completed his purpose. As if the bitter enemies of Cyril would have failed to bring forward this tremendous charge against him, if it had been even invented in his lifetime!

Cyril was unanimously elected Patriarch,[2] on the fifth of November, 1621: and from this time he scarcely knew an hour's peace.

Gerasimus Spartaliotes, Patr. LXXXIII. A.D. 1621. A.M. 1337.

His successor at Alexandria[3] was his former rival Gerasimus. This ecclesiastic, a Cretan, like his two predecessors, by birth, was a steady upholder of the Oriental Faith. He was the author of several learned works; among which his explanation of some passages of Scripture is the most remarkable. On his accession, he contributed largely to the necessities of the Church of Jerusalem, then in debt.[4]

[1] Leo Allatius, p. 1074. One cannot but be grieved to find Le Quien writing, "quod tamen Dositheus Hierosolymitanus inficiatur, odio, ut reor, Allatii, qui varias hujus facinoris circumstantias narrat admodum probabiles." The author of the Defense de la Perpetuité retails the same calumny, p. 384. This was probably one of the atrocious falsehoods which made, according to the Greek account, the death-bed of Allatius so horrible: he died, it is said, biting out his tongue in an agony of despair.

[2] Smith, p. 22.

[3] Le Quien, ii. 507, 8.

[4] Dosith. Patr. Hierosol. xii. 1—10.

SECTION X.

MISSION OF PEDRO PAEZ.

The reign of Melec Segued was long and prosperous, though not altogether without its calamities: inasmuch as the Galla took possession of some of the fairest among the southern provinces of the empire. These Galla were Pagans, who gradually penetrated northward from the very centre of Africa, and first effected a settlement in Abyssinia about the year 1587. Many of them subsequently embraced Mahometanism.

A.D. 1595. Za Denghel Emperor.

On the death of Melec Segued, he was succeeded by his nephew Za Denghel. Many fruitless attempts were made, as well by the Roman Court, as by the Portuguese Church in Goa, to send missionaries, after the extinction of the first mission, into Ethiopia: but they constantly proved ineffectual. They were further encouraged in their attempts by the pretended submission of the Coptic Patriarch, although it afterwards proved that the Roman Pontiff had been grossly deceived. In one of these missions, Abraham de Georgiis, a Maronite Jesuit, suffered martyrdom.

A.D. 1690. Mission of Pedro Paez.

At length Pedro Paez, an able and excellent man, of the same Society, arrived at Masuah, where he suffered a long imprisonment; and at length, being set at liberty, avoided the mistake into which his predecessors had fallen, that of presenting themselves too soon at court. Retiring to Fremona, he applied himself indefatigably to acquire the Geez, or written, and learned language of Abyssinia: and in this employment, he passed four years.[1] At length he attained to so extraordinary a degree of proficiency in it, that none even of the natives of Abyssinia were able to compete with him; and the fame of his learning reached the ears of Za Denghel. Paez, at his command, repaired to court: a controversy followed, in which two boys, educated by the missionary, are said to have silenced the Abyssinian Priests;

A.D. 1604.

1 Bruce, iii. 237—264. Geddes, *Append. ad tom. vi.* Thomas a Jesu, 225—238. La Croze, 289. Baronius, *De Conv.* lib. vi.

mass was said, according to the Roman Rite, by Paez; and a sermon preached, one of the first, and the most elegant that had ever been heard in Abyssinia.

Za Denghel embraces the Roman Faith:

Za Denghel, abjuring his Monophysite heresy, embraced the Roman Catholic Faith; many of his courtiers followed his example: but the great mass of his subjects persevered in the religion of their forefathers. Discontents broke out: Za Denghel corresponded with the Pope, and with Philip III. King of Spain and Portugal, requesting assistance. Za Selasse, one of the most powerful Abyssinian chieftains, made the change of religion a pretext for taking up arms; and entering into communication with Peter, then Abuna, persuaded him to excommunicate Za Denghel, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance.[1] Such a proceeding was a perfect novelty in Ethiopia: and the Metropolitan, a man of dissolute life, doubted of its effect. But no sooner was it pronounced, than Za Selasse raised the standard of rebellion at the head of a large body of troops. Za Denghel flew to arms: the two armies met in the plain of Bartela; and after a desperate conflict, the King was defeated and slain.

his defeat and death.

Two competitors appeared for the Throne — both of the royal family, as being each descended from David III.,—Jacob and Socinios.[2] Jacob had already, in a successful rebellion during the time of Za Denghel, mounted the Throne for a short time, but was afterwards sent by that Prince into exile and imprisonment. He was, after a short reign, defeated and slain by Socinios, who, on being proclaimed Emperor, took the name of Seltam Segued.

Civil war.

Socinios, Emperor.

Paez, though he had taken part with Jacob, was soon received into favour, and again preached at court. Socinios professed himself favourable to the new doctrine: and the missionary proceeded to strengthen his influence by building a convent for himself and his disciples, and a palace for the King, both with stone and mortar, and with several stories: things till then unknown in Abyssinia.[3]

[1] Bruce, iii. 265—270. Geddes, 239—257. La Croze, 290, 291.

[2] We write the name so, because Ethiopic historians have adopted this orthography. But it is in reality, the same name as Chenouda or Sanutius, and is by some spelt Susneus.

[3] Bruce, iii. 272—323. La Croze, 292—294.

The King was much engaged, during the early part of his reign, in several wars, particularly with the Galla: and, under the earnest and yet well-timed preaching of Paez, the Roman Catholic Faith took deep root. Ras Sela Christos, the King's brother, embraced the new Creed: and the Abuna Simon was much displeased at the turn which affairs seemed taking. Disputations were held before Socinios, which terminated to the disadvantage of the Abuna: and, in consequence, the Emperor made his first public profession of the Catholic Faith, on the Two Natures of CHRIST. Letters were shortly afterwards received from Pope Paul V., and Philip of Spain, and in return, it was determined to send an embassy into Italy to notify the submission of Socinios to the See of Rome. Antonio Fernandez, a Jesuit, was charged with the office: his adventures are sufficiently interesting, though not connected with our immediate subject: he was, however, unsuccessful in his attempt to reach Goa, being stopped and sent back by one of the Mahometan Princes to the south of Abyssinia.[1]

Energy of Sela Christos.

Simon, in the meantime, published a sentence of excommunication against all such as should affirm that there were Two Natures in our LORD JESUS CHRIST. The people took alarm: conspiracies were formed: and at length, Julius, Governor of Tigre, took up arms in defence of the old religion, although Socinios was his father-in-law. The Abuna joined the party of the rebel; and pronounced, in the presence of the army, a solemn anathema against the King, Sela Christos, and all the followers of the Roman Faith. Julius, infatuated by the promises of this man, who foretold that the moment he should shew himself the King's troops would join his standard, mounted a strong horse, and rode into the royal army, where he was killed: his troops threw down their arms and fled; the Abuna, vociferating curses against the conqueror, was killed, and great spoils were found in the camp.

The Emperor excommunicated by the Abuna.

Death of Julius and the Abuna.

This attempt only served to embitter the Emperor against his Monophysite subjects: and to testify his dislike of the corrupt practices which had been introduced among them, he issued a proclamation forbidding the superstitious and Jewish observance of the Saturday, which had been hitherto the practice. Two

[1] Bruce, iii. 324—347. Geddes, 288—312.

more rebellions followed: and, when these were crushed, Socinios openly embraced the Roman Catholic Faith. He sent for Pedro A.D. 1620. Paez, and acquainted him with his resolution: at the same time, to shew his sincerity, he put away all his wives but the first. The good Father, overjoyed to find his years of patient application successful, returned to his convent; where, shortly afterwards, he was seized with a violent fever, brought on by over exertion in travelling, and departed this life, May 3, 1623. He Death of Paez. was universally beloved: his sprightliness endeared him to the young, his kindness to all: of his zeal and piety there can be no doubt, and his talents are conspicuous throughout his whole career.

It is time now to say something on the succession of the Jacobite Patriarchs.

John XIV., Patr. xcvi. A.D. 1579. Gabriel, whom we have already mentioned, was succeeded by John, the fourteenth of that name.[1] The negociations with Rome still continued: for we find a letter sent from Gregory XIII., inviting him to enter the Communion of S. Peter, and the answer which the Patriarch returned to Sixtus V., the successor of Gregory XIII. To him succeeded Gabriel VIII.; the same of whose pretended submission to Rome, and of the manner in which Baronius was deceived by it, we have already seen how contemptuously Cyril Lucar speaks. Mark, the fifth of that name, of Beijadt, was his successor. The negociations with Rome were still carried on, and it said that the Patriarch was on the point of submitting to the Roman Church, when he was deposed under the following[2] circumstances. The Bishop of Damietta had publicly preached in favour of polygamy: and for this, and other crimes, he was excommunicated by Mark. The angry Prelate applied to a Copt, named Abdel-messiah, who was in great credit at the Pasha's Court, and procured the Governor's order for the appearance of the Patriarch to answer to his accusations. Mark received two hundred bastinadoes, and was deposed, and John Melawani substituted in his place. Of this Patriarch, the only character we have is, that he was "green

Gabriel VIII. Patr. xcvii. A.D. 1585.

Mark V. Patr. xcviii. A.D. 1602.

John XV. Patr. xcix. A.D. 1610.

[1] Wansleb, p. 329. Sollerius, p. 102. Le Quien, ii. p. 501. Alex. Catal.

[2] We have followed, in this account, the Coptic List sent from Alexandria. Wanslebius and Renaudot omit Matthew as a Patriarch, and Le Quien doubts whether there was any such person as John El Touki.

wood, yielding more smoke than fire." His successor was John el Touki, who appears, on his election, to have taken the name of Matthew. He also corresponded with the Court of Rome: but to as little effect as his predecessors.[1] *Matthew III. Patr. c. Circ.* A.D. 1625.

We now return to the affairs of Abyssinia. On the death of Paez, the King published a violent manifesto as well against the heretical tenets, as against the corrupted morals of the Ethiopic Church: laying to the charge of its late Patriarchs crimes of the most fearful magnitude. The news of the King's recantation having reached Europe, Alphonso Mendez was consecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia, at Lisbon: and, with his coadjutors, the titular Bishop of Nicæa, (who died on the voyage,) and the titular Bishop elect of Hierapolis, sailed for Goa. Accompanied by a fresh band of missionaries, Mendez landed at a port in the state of Dancali, (which was then Christian,) and thence proceeded to Fremona. They were encouraged by the appearance of a star of extraordinary brightness, which, standing over their future way, remained visible for about six minutes. After encountering various difficulties, they were admitted to an audience by Socinios, in February, 1626.[2] Alphonso Mendez Patriarch, May 2, A.D. 1625.

Neither Mendez nor his companions appear to have possessed the learning, piety, or tact, of Pedro Paez: for the ceremony of the King's public reconciliation with Rome was done in a manner the most likely to give needless offence. The Patriarch preached in Portuguese, which was a language perfectly unintelligible to his auditors: the King, on his knees, followed by Facilidas, the Prince Royal, and the other members of his Court, took the oath of allegiance to Urban VIII.; and Ras Sela Christos, in particular, distinguished himself by his furious zeal in repeating the formula, and thereby drew on himself great suspicion and dislike. An oath of allegiance was added to Socinios; and to Facilidas, so long as he should remain in the Roman Faith. Influence of the Missionaries declines.

A proclamation was issued, commanding the reception, on pain of death, of the Roman Catholic Faith; and Mendez carried his proceedings unjustifiably, and in a most uncatholic manner to the furthest extreme. Churches were reconsecrated instead of reconciled; the Clergy reordained; converts rebap-

[1] Bucher, *Itineraire*, iv. 7. [2] Bruce, iii. 359—367. Geddes, 332—344.

tized instead of confirmed; and the Roman Calendar replaced the Ethiopic. Circumcision and polygamy were at once abolished; it may be questionable how far it was necessary,
Persecution. (considering the light in which it was viewed, as a custom, not a principle,) as it certainly was not expedient to forbid, at once, the former.

But Mendez carried his innovations into a point which was more likely to affect the pecuniary interests of the Abyssinians, and which was therefore more distasteful to them. Church-lands are unknown in Ethiopia; and the King, or his nobles, grant to, and resume from, convents and churches, what landed property as, and when they please. A nobleman, having withdrawn some land from a Monk, was summoned by the Patriarch into the Ecclesiastical Court: a tribunal hitherto unknown. On his refusal to appear, he was excommunicated, and such was the terror of the sentence, that the nobleman, though a brave man, fainted on hearing it. It was removed at the request of the King; but its infliction gave great offence. It is evident that conduct, at once firm and mild, might have wrought wonders among a people where the Church had so actual an existence.[1]

On one point Socinios stood firm: the retention of the Ethiopic Liturgies, after having received such alterations as Mendez thought fit to make.

Civil war. Another invasion of the Galla, and fresh severities in the persecution, provoked Tecla Georgis, son-in-law to Socinios, and governor of Tigre, to take up arms in defence of the old heresy. He commenced his rebellion by burning all the Crucifixes throughout his province, and slaying his chaplain, Abba Jacob, with his own hand. By the exertions and valour of a zealous Catholic, Keba Christos, his army was defeated, and himself, together with his sister Adera, his principal instigator to revolt, taken prisoner.

Tecla Georgis was condemned to be burnt alive; but having abjured heresy, his sentence was commuted to hanging:—and when he found that death was inevitable, he returned to his ancient error. His sister suffered, a fortnight later, by the same punishment, in spite of the intercession of the Queen and Court ladies.[2]

[1] Bruce, iii. 365–374. Geddes, 342–349. [2] Bruce, iii. 373–402. Geddes, 370–385.

It would be equally tedious and unprofitable to relate the various outbreaks and rebellions which attended the violent proceedings of Socinios, and over all of which he triumphed. He once issued a proclamation, giving some little liberty to the professors of the ancient faith; but was thereupon so severely rebuked by the Patriarch, for meddling with what did not belong to him, that he was forced almost entirely to recall it. At length after one of the greatest victories which had ever been gained in Abyssinia, Facilidas, in the name of the army, addressed his father, and lamented that they, over whom his arms had now triumphed, were neither Jews, Pagans, nor Mahometans, but fellow Christians, and fellow subjects; that such a success was not a victory; that it was turning the sword against themselves, and making themselves a proverb to Pagans and Mahometans. Socinios appeared deeply affected, and, a day or two afterwards, issued a proclamation, tolerating both the ancient and the new faith. Mendez professed his acquiescence, if the manifesto were only intended to apply to those who had not entered into the Communion of Rome already; for those who had, he said, it would be an unpardonable sin to allow them to apostatize.

Socinios, now past seventy years of age, wearied out with war, and hopeless of establishing the Roman Catholic Faith, resigned the government into the hands of his son. He would have been a great prince, had all the missionaries been like Pedro Paez. But the Portuguese evidently from the beginning considered that the True Faith was to be propagated by arms; and, taking the sword, they were to perish with the sword. Socinios survived his abdication but a short time, and departed this life on the seventh of September, 1632. Death of Socinios.

SECTION XI.

CYRIL LUCAR, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Cyril Lucar's attention was, immediately on his promotion, drawn to the progress which the Jesuits were making at Constantinople; and they, on their part, were not less anxious Cyril Lucar, Patr. of Constantinople.

narrowly to watch the proceedings of one who had hitherto shewn himself their most determined enemy.[1] The Patriarch's first proceeding was the publication of a Pastoral mandate, by which all the Faithful were desired to withdraw themselves from the communion of all members of the Latin Church.[2]

Cyril attacks the Latin Church.

This blow struck directly at the Jesuits[3]; and they were not long in shewing that they felt and resented it. By the influence of the French ambassador, they made Gregory of Amasea, a man who had openly submitted to the Pope, Anti-patriarch; but this step was quite unsuccessful. On the Saturday following the publication of Gregory's elevation, Cyril, accompanied by four Archbishops, and many of his Clergy, solemnly excommunicated the intruder, after a sermon, in which, without expressly mentioning the Jesuits, he referred to certain incendiaries, with whom it would be necessary to deal more severely, unless they desisted from their plots. The government took the matter up: Gregory was banished, and, while on his way to the place of exile, strangled.[4]

Feb. 1622.

Plots of the Jesuits.

In the following April,[5] the Jesuits waited on the Vizir, with the information that Cyril was intriguing with the Florentines, in the intention of delivering up to them one of the Islands of the Archipelago. As this accusation was accompanied by a present of twenty thousand dollars, the Vizir paid immediate attention to it; and without attending to Cyril's defence, sent him prisoner to Rhodes.

Cyril banished to Rhodes.

But now a serious difficulty arose. The Jesuits urged the election of another Patriarch; but the Greeks affirmed that the Throne was not vacant, and that if an intruder attempted to occupy it, they would not pay the Pescesium, without which the Turkish Government would recognize no Patriarch. In this difficulty the Jesuits cast their eyes on Anthemius, Archbishop

[1] The following portion of the life of Cyril has two excellent authorities; that of Chrysoculus, Great Logothete, addressed, Nov. 9, 1628, to M. Le Leu Wilhem, and a MS. account by Sir Thomas Rowe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople. The former is given by Aymon; the substance of the latter by Smith.

[2] Chrysoc. ap. Aymon, 204.

[3] Chrysoc. p. 204. Smith, 25, 6.

[4] Le Quien, i. 332. He follows Leo Allatius in making Cyril guilty of this murder. The *Defense* says nothing.

[5] Chrysoc. p. 206. Smith, p. 26. He seems to think that Gregory still remained at Constantinople.

of Adrianople, a rich but worthless man, and offered to secure his election, if he would consent to pay the requisite sum. Anthemius agreed; and he was thus raised to the dignity that he coveted.[1]

In the meantime, the further progress of Metrophanes Critopulus seems to have been unsatisfactory.

Archbishop Abbot, in a letter to Sir Thomas Rowe, recommends his *protegé* in the following terms:—

"I recommend unto you this bearer, Critopulus Metrophanes, a Greek, born in Byrraca, and sent unto me five or six years since by Cyrill, then Patriarch of Alexandria; and now of Constantinople. He hath remained all his time in Oxford, where I have taken care that he hath been well and sufficiently maintained, and thereby hath attained unto some reasonable knowledge of the English tongue, not neglecting his studies otherwise. He is a learned man, and hath lived in that University with good report, whereof he is able to shew letters testimonial to the good contentment, as I hope, of that reverend man from whom he was sent.

"Lambeth, Nov. 20th, 1622."

In a second letter to Sir Thomas, the Archbishop gives a very different character of this Greek as follows:

"The Grecian Critopulus Metrophanes hath taken his journey very lately into France or Holland, pretending from thence to go by land to Constantinople. I bred him full five years in Oxford, with good allowance for diet, clothes, books, chamber, and other necessaries; so that his expense, since his coming into England, doth amount almost to three hundred pounds. While he was in that University, he carried himself well: and at Michaelmas last I sent for him to Lambeth, taking care that, in a very good ship, he might be conveyed with accommodation of all things by the way. But by the ill counsel of somebody, he desired to go to the Court at Newmarket, that he might see the King before his departure. His Majesty used him well; but then he was put into a conceit

[1] Le Quien, i. 133.

that he might get something to buy him books to carry home to the Patriarch. The means that he gaped after were such as you can hardly believe; as first, that he should have a knight to be made for his sake; and then, after that, a baronet, wherein a projector should have shared with him: after that, the King was to be moved to give the advowson of a benefice, which a false simoniacal person did promise to buy of him. I caused my chaplains to dissuade him from these things, and interposed my own censure in it, as thinking these courses to be unwise, unfit, and unworthy. But, to satisfy his desire, I bought him new out of the shop many of the best Greek authors, and among them Chrysostom's eight tomes. I furnished him also with other books of worth, in Latin and in English, so that I may boldly say, it was a present fit for me to send to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the meantime, since Michaelmas last, I lodged him in my own house, I sat him at my own table, I clothed him, and provided all conveniences for him, and would once again have sent him away in a good ship, that he might safely have returned; but he fell into the company of certain Greeks, with whom we have been much troubled with collections and otherwise; and although I knew them to be counterfeits and vagabonds (as sundry times you have written unto me), yet I could not keep my man within doors, but he must be abroad with them, to the expense of his time and money. In brief, writing a kind of epistle unto me, that he would rather lose his books, suffer imprisonment and loss of life, than go home in any ship; but that he would see the parts of Christendom, and better his experience that way, I found that he meant to turn rogue and beggar, and more I cannot tell what; and thereupon I gave him ten pounds in his purse, and leaving him to Sir Paul Pindar's care, at my removing to Croydon, about a fortnight since, I dismissed him. I had heard before of the baseness and slavishness of that nation; but I could never have believed that any creature in human shape, having learning, and such education as he hath had here, could, after so many years, have been so far from ingenuity, or any grateful respect. But he must take his fortune, and I will learn by him to entreat so well no more of his fashion. Only I have thus at large acquainted you with the

unworthy carriage of this fellow, which, though it be indecent in him, yet for the Patriarch's sake, I grudge it not unto him.

"Croydon, Aug. 12th, 1622."

Sir Thomas answers:

"I have let the good Patriarch know the devious course taken by Metrophanes, of your bounty and care for him, and all the circumstances of his departure. At the first he seemed somewhat astonished; but his affection towards him prevailed to make his excuse. He hath given orders to write to Holland, France, and divers other parts, to recall this stray sheep, to whom he bears an entire love; and if he come hither, intends to make him a kind of coadjutor in judging of causes, and to confer upon him all the dignity he can.

"Constantinople, June 24, 1623."

In a third letter the Archbishop says:

"I hold it fit to give the Patriarch this account of Metrophanes; that in July last I gave him viaticum to carry him to Constantinople by land; and for a long time after, I heard of him, but saw him not; only in February or March last, he came unto me, and told me, that he was resolved then speedily to go home by sea, and would know what service I would command him. I told him, that seven or eight months, he had not known me, and now I would not know him; he might go where he list, and might do what he pleased. I thought then he had gone away; but now, two days past, being in my coach at London, I saw him go by me; but what he intendeth, or what he hath done with the books which I gave him for the Patriarch, I can yield no account.

"Lambeth, June 20, 1624."

Sir Thomas answers:

"I have acquainted the Patriarch with your Grace's first and last letters concerning Metrophanes: who can hear nothing against him, that affection doth not interpret the better. He

expects him daily, and your worthy present of books. I fear they will be pawned in the way. Of wandering Greeks there is so great store, that I am forced daily to deny my passports.

"Constantinople, Dec. 9—19, 1624."

In a fourth letter, the Archbishop gives this further account of the good Patriarch's "stray sheep."

"I know not what to say to the Patriarch touching Metrophanes. His roguish countrymen did undo him: he had been fairly carried to Constantinople by sea, and I gave him viaticum to that purpose; but he is gone with pretence to travel through Germany by land, in which course I cannot see how he should carry the books along with him. I do much fear, that he hath fared so well in these parts, that he will hardly reduce himself to the strict life of the Kaloires in the Greek Church.

"Lambeth, March 30th, 1625."

Sir Thomas, in his answer to the Archbishop, says:

"Of his Metrophanes, he (the Patriarch) hath at last heard from Nurembergh, who writes him a strange discourse, that Gondomar did seek to debauch him, and send him to Rome; but failing, attempted his life, which made him forsake England; with many other frivolous adventures. I wished the Patriarch to believe little; but he willingly hears nothing against him, upon whom he hath set his affection. The truth is, they are futilissima natio. Long slavery hath made them, for the most part, liars, base and treacherous."[1]

[No date.]

Return of Metrophanes Critopulus.

Though Cyril was now in exile, his friends were not idle. Metrophanes Critopulus had returned to him at Constantinople, and seems, notwithstanding Abbot's displeasure, to have left a most favourable impression of his Church in England. By a sad mistake, he visited several of the Reformed Bodies on his way home; he had, on his journey to England, formed an

[1] These letters are taken from "the Parian Chronicle," London, 1788, p. 219, *seq.*

intimacy with Professor Schickend, of Tubingen, which seems to have been disadvantageous to the young Priest. On his return, he composed what he termed a Confession of Faith of the Greek Church, which was, by the Protestants, considered favourable to themselves. It is, of course, utterly valueless as a document of authority.

King James I. interferes.

Urban VIII., on hearing of the exile of Cyril, wrote a letter of thanks to the French ambassador, Count de Cesi, congratulating him on the service he had done to the Catholic Faith. "Your actions at Constantinople," says he, "have been heard by the Roman Church with applause. We know the calamities which have involved that son of darkness and champion of hell, and the blow that was struck at heresy, while through your efforts the Venerable Father Anthemius was set over the Church of Constantinople. While you remain the supporter of his dignity, we shall know that the Church in that part of the world does not lack a strenuous defender."[1] But at the same time, King James I. wrote to our ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, desiring him to procure, at any cost, the recall of Cyril. The necessary orders having been issued, Cyril returned on the first of September, to Galata; and Anthemius, either struck with remorse, or overcome by fear, waited on him, and offered to resign to him the Patriarchate. But Cyril thought that thus to accept it would be both uncanonical and dangerous, and contented himself with receiving the declaration of Anthemius that the Patriarchal Throne was vacant: waiting God's time to be restored to his rightful dignity. Count de Cesi, on hearing this, was furious; and having sent for Anthemius, and bitterly reproached him with his cowardice, he persuaded him by a large sum of money and by promises of protection to continue to act as Patriarch. He was again proclaimed, especially at Galata, and retained his dignity for some little time longer. At length, overcome by terror, he went to Cyril by night, abdicated the Patriarchate, and besought absolution, protesting that he would rather suffer death than again mount the Throne of Constantinople. After this, he retired to the Holy Mountain, with the intention of passing his time in religious seclusion in the Monastery of S.

A.D. 1622.

Cyril's recall

Resignation of Gregory.

1 Codinus, De Offic. Ecc. Constan. *ad finem.* Smith, 28. Chrysoc. 207.

Athanasius.[1] Cyril's friends now persuaded him to come forward; and by the assistance of a considerable Pescesium, he was again recognized as legitimate Patriarch. This business, however, cost the Church of Constantinople sixty thousand dollars, —the interest of which (for it was borrowed) weighed it down for many years.

January, A.D. 1623. Interference of the Propaganda.

The Jesuits, however,[2] would not be quiet. Early in the next year a Greek Monk was sent by the *Propaganda* to Constantinople, with the intelligence that twenty thousand dollars were ready whenever Cyril should be displaced; ten thousand of those destined to this unholy use had been left by a French lady to be employed in alms. Another scheme was immediately contrived, of what nature does not appear; but, fortunately, the plot, before it was ripe for execution, was discovered to Cyril, and by him defeated, though not without considerable additional cost to the wretchedly impoverished Greek Church.

February, A.D. 1624.

Thus baffled, the Jesuits were compelled to remain quiet for nearly a year. But, in the following spring, a Jesuit, apparently a Greek by birth, named Beryllus, arrived for the purpose of accusing the Patriarch of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with the Cossacks.[3] A layman, in the confidence of the same party, insinuated himself into the intimacy of Cyril, with pretended offers from the Court of Spain. But the most formidable attack was that made on him by Canacchio Rossi, a Greek proselyte of the Jesuits, and educated by them in their college at Rome. Cardinal Bandini was at the bottom of this intrigue; and Rossi's instructions were signed and sealed by that Ecclesiastic.

They were as follows[4]:—

Instructions from Rome.

"1. There being no letters, either from the Patriarch or the Prelates, there is no replying to them, except by word of mouth, according to the language of the messenger.

"2. The Church of Rome has always desired union and peace with all Churches, especially with the Eastern, which has deserved so well of the Catholic Church in other times. And not only in ancient times, but more recently, even in the time of the Patriarch Jeremiah, she has done what she could to aid and

[1] For this Athanasius, see Ricaut, p. 230—233.

[2] Smith, p. 31. Chrysoc. p. 299.

[3] Smith, u. s. Chrysoc. p. 210.

[4] Aymon, p. 211, *seq.* We use Dr. Beaven's translation.

reconcile her, sparing for that end neither expense nor labour. Moreover, for that very end she has founded, and still maintains with her own funds the college of Greek youths, in order that that noble and able nation may again flourish in piety and learning, as in former times.

"3. With regard to the particular business of the present Patriarch, our Lord, who is so great a favourer and patron of the Greek nation individually, as you yourself know and have seen with your own eyes, would most willingly spend any sum of money whatever to reunite so noble a member to the Church, and to aid that See in particular, on which the rest of the East depends. But supposing the accounts to be true which have come and are continually coming from Constantinople concerning the Patriarch, he does not see in what manner it can be done.

"4. We are informed concerning him that he denies the Invocation of Saints, the worship and veneration of images and relics of Saints, the Real Presence of CHRIST in the Eucharist, the freedom of the will, the authority of the holy Councils, traditions, the authority of the Holy Fathers, the necessity of auricular confession, and the declaration in it of sins of the mind; and that instead of it he has introduced a kind of confession made to GOD publicly in general terms; that he sends young men to study in the University of England, where they are taught this doctrine, in order, by means of them, to disseminate it through the Levant; that for this end he has caused to be printed, and does himself distribute to the Bishops, a kind of Catechism, full of these and similar errors, condemned many years since, not only by the Apostolic See, and the Council of Trent, but even by his own predecessor; that, on the representation of the Huguenot ambassadors, with whom he freely communicates, he has taken away the *Synodicon*, and has left off paying any reverence to the most Holy Eucharist.

"5. That His Holiness would be glad to find that all these things were false, and that, as being the head of so noble a nation, he were such a person as the present needs, both spiritual and temporal, of his subjects require, in order that he might be able with a good grace and safe conscience to help him.

"6. That if these things are calumnies, and he thinks he can make his innocence appear to the satisfaction of His Holiness,

he may put it in the power of the ambassador of France, or of the Emperor, to do so; that he may place entire dependence on whatever they may say, being persons of so much authority and excellence; and that he must send our Lord by means of them, his *confession of faith*, in which he must accept the Council of Florence, and condemn the Calvinistic and Lutheran errors; that the Apostolic See will not fail to render him any aid and favour to assist him, and to place at his feet the Church of Constantinople and all its other dependencies.

"7. That it is not the intention of His Holiness to demand of him, or of the other Greek Prelates, any other conditions but those which were concluded and settled in the holy Council of Florence, provided the Greek Church, as to this hour she has done, condemns and anathematizes the blasphemies of the Northern heretics, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and the like.—"

Cyril declines to reply.

Cyril, on receiving these articles, found them to be so subtilely compounded of truth and falsehood, that he knew not what to reply. Some answer, however, he was determined to give; till, fortunately going to consult Sir Thomas Rowe at his house, the Ambassador advised him to take no notice of the document on the ground that there was no written communication to himself. The Jesuits did not fail to put the worst possible construction on his conduct; which nevertheless was not only the most dignified course, the interference of Rome being so entirely uncalled for, but under all the circumstances the most prudent that could have been pursued.

The emissaries of Rome were next employed in inciting[1] the Suffragans of Cyril against him: and the twenty thousand dollars which the Propaganda had promised were to be given to these Bishops, if they would procure the election of another Patriarch. The commotion they raised was so great that Cyril was obliged to retire from Constantinople, till his friends, by plainly stating the facts of the case to the Turkish Government, and accompanying that statement with another present of ten thousand dollars, rendered it safe for him to return.

Apostolic Suffragan in the Archipelago:

The Court of Rome now perceived that other measures must

[1] Aymon, p. 214. Smith, p. 33.

be taken.[1] It was resolved to send out an Anti-Patriarch, under the title of Apostolic Suffragan: to this man, in conjunction with a Treasurer appointed in Italy, and Count de Cesi, the Roman interests in the East were committed. A number of schismatical Prelates were also consecrated for various islands of the Archipelago. The Anti-Patriarch arrived in Naxos, in December, 1626: and to this island Count de Cesi sent the Latin Bishop of the place, accompanied with two Jesuits, to congratulate the Apostolic Suffragan on his arrival. Hence he was conducted to Chios, and there received with the utmost splendour.

The honour done to him appears to have been more than this weak-minded man could bear. Had he had patience to remain quiet, and to work his way by slow degrees, he might have become a most dangerous enemy to the Greek Church: but such was the haughtiness of his demeanour, and so overbearing were his pretensions, that he alienated the minds even of his own faction. The laics trembled for their rights of patronage, the Latin Convents, impatient of the new and intolerable yoke, openly refused to receive the intruder: the Greeks remained constant, in and through all their troubles, to the faith of their forefathers, and the unalterable decrees of Nicæa. Representation of the interference of Rome was made to the Turkish Government: the Apostolic Suffragan was too happy to withdraw quietly, being by no means, it would appear, desirous of the Crown of Martyrdom: his Bishops, less fortunate or more courageous, were thrown into prison. And so ended this attempt of Rome.

he returns to Rome.

Cyril, while in fear from the Apostolic Suffragan, bethought himself of executing a commission with which he had some time previously been entrusted by Abbot; that of sending certain MSS. which King James had requested. He probably thought that it was as well to remind his most powerful patron of his own situation at a time when he was in great danger: though he did not consider it safe positively to ask for assistance.[2]

"Most blessed Father Archbishop,—

"After brotherly health and peace from our Lord Jesus

[1] Aymon. Smith, u. s. Simon, p. 55.

[2] Colomesius, p. 336. The translation is Dr. Beaven's.

Cyril's second letter to Abbot.

CHRIST; the present letter does not admit of my explaining at full length the causes of my delay in replying to your blessedness; for as often as I intended to reply, I was so distracted by various kinds of affairs, which daily overwhelmed me, that I was constrained to defer it. It is true that much time has passed away; but the bond of Christian charity, which your blessedness and myself earnestly cultivate, remains unbroken in my inmost heart. With respect to your own occupations, every one must be sensible how much your wisdom is taken up with public and private business; and the more, without doubt, at the death of his Most Serene Highness King James of happy memory, for whose death every good man grieves. For he lived in this world not less a king than a philosopher; but now being become a most happy courtier of the heavenly kingdom, he enjoys a nobler and more excellent life and light for ever. The Christian commonwealth has lost a very great blessing; but the most serene and the most Christian Charles, inheriting the majesty, and kingdom, and virtues of his most dear parent, and exhibiting to all beholders a lively image of his father, permits us to hope for greater things. I, unworthy as I am, augur for his royal majesty a most happy and splendid reign in his most flourishing kingdom of Great Britain; and on my bended knees I entreat GOD the FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, to preserve his royal majesty to a distant period, to govern him with His HOLY SPIRIT, to honour him with every blessing, and to increase his prosperity most abundantly. This is my prayer for his royal majesty; and I most especially beg your blessedness to mention it to him in my name, and humbly to kiss the hands of his royal majesty, and earnestly to entreat him to continue to us his gracious favour. Meanwhile, with respect to the books of which your blessedness wrote to me, I do not think that I can satisfy you. If I can do anything I will communicate with my most kind friend, protector, and patron, Thomas Rowe, your most prudent Ambassador at this Court, and by him you shall be acquainted with my success. In conclusion, I pray the good and great GOD to grant your blessedness a long life for the good of the Church, and to deliver you from all evil; and in turn I request of your blessedness to intercede with the LORD for me in your prayers, that, if possible, I may escape, and not be

swallowed up by the violent persecutors of the truth. May your blessedness be in good health.

"At my Patriarchal House, January 16, 1627."

It cannot but be touching to the English reader, to compare the anticipations of Cyril with respect to the reign of Charles the Martyr, with the sad reality.

In the following June,[1] Nicolas, or as others call him, Nicodemus Metaxa, a Greek Monk, and a native of Cephalonia, arrived from England, bringing with him a fount of Greek types, a printing press, and the requisite knowledge in the art which he professed. Cyril was delighted at his arrival; but being overwhelmed with business, contented himself with recommending the printer to the care of Sir Thomas Rowe, by the Metropolitan of Corinth, Joasaph I. The Ambassador, however, though he approved the design, was unwilling to be mixed up in it, as foreseeing the trouble and danger which it would occasion. However, on the great urgency of the Metropolitan, he summoned to his own house the Dutch Ambassador, Cyril himself, and Gerasimus Spartaliotes, who happened to be at Constantinople on private business. After a long and full discussion of the matter, it was agreed to ask publicly the permission of the Vizir to unpack and to use the types; and this leave was given, it would seem without difficulty. Cyril then requested Sir Thomas Rowe to allow the printing press to be set up in his own hotel; but to this the Ambassador would not consent: he, however, did what he could in the business; he hired, at his own expense, a house in which he established Metaxa, and took both it and him under his avowed protection. This house was not far from the hotel of the English, but, unfortunately, nearer to that of the French, ambassador.

A.D. 1627.

Arrival of Nicolas Metaxa, the printer,

who is taken under the protection of the British Embassy

The Jesuits were no sooner apprised of this step, than they used all the means in their power to gain Metaxa: they represented to him that he had learned his craft in an heretical country; that he was reported to have imbibed the opinions, as well as the skill of his teachers; that the easiest way to put an end to this suspicion would be to become one of their community, or at least to live in habits of intimacy with them. Finding persuasions useless, they next had recourse to threats; called Metaxa

The Jesuits attack him.

[1] Aymon, p. 40. Dissert. Prelimin. Smith, p. 35. Chrysoc. p. 217

Lutheran and heretic, and accused him of treason, because he employed the Royal Arms of England at the beginning and the end of his books. All this the poor printer bore quietly; but at length he was plainly warned, if he continued his present course, to prepare for assassination. On this, he repaired to Sir Thomas Rowe, and besought him, with tears in his eyes, to allow him a sleeping-room in his hotel; the kind-hearted Ambassador consented, and Metaxa was conveyed to and from his printing house by a strong band of his friends and workmen.

The celebrated confession of Cyril Lucar.

Metaxa was engaged in printing one or two works, which Cyril considered likely to do most good at the present juncture of affairs. The most important was his own Confession of Faith. This he had composed for some time, and had intended to publish in England, with a dedication to King James I.: but he now thought it better to bring it out at Constantinople; and determined to dedicate it to King Charles. Another book was the treatise of Meletius Piga,[1] on the Supremacy of the Pope.

We must now consider the confession of Cyril, such as we have it, and such as, it is impossible not to believe it, he wrote it. We shall hereafter notice the doubts which have been raised whether the whole be not a Genevan forgery. We shall briefly notice those articles which have nothing to do with the controversy between the Catholic Church and Protestants; and translate at full those which have. It commences thus:[2]

"Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to those who are asking and inquiring concerning the Faith and Worship of the Greeks, that is, the Eastern Church, what its sentiments are respecting the orthodox Faith, publishes, in the name of all Christians, this brief confession for a testimony before God and men, with a pure conscience, without any deceit."

The first article is on the Holy Trinity; he affirms that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son.

Holy Scripture.

The second is on Holy Scripture. Here he affirms: "Wherefore the authority of Holy Writ is far greater than that of the Church, for it is a different thing to be taught by the Holy Ghost from the being taught by man: man may, through igno-

[1] This is what must be meant by Chrysoculus, (p. 219) where he talks of Milesius, Archbishop of Alexandria.

[2] We translate from the Geneva edition of 1633.

rance, err and deceive, and be deceived. But Holy Scripture neither deceiveth, nor is deceived, nor is subject to error, but is infallible."

It is proper to observe that both these, and all the following articles have a long array of texts which prove, or are intended to prove their assertions. But Cyril intersperses his own interpretations in an extraordinary manner, with the quotations from Scripture. Thus, in the Article just recited, we find "Jer. xxiii. 28. What is the chaff [the word of men] to the wheat, [the Word of GOD?] saith the LORD." And the citations are sometimes quite beside the mark, if indeed not positively unfair: as, with reference to the same article, "GOD is true, but every man a liar." But the whole Article is most unsatisfactory and incomplete: inasmuch as it says nothing of the Office of the Church as interpreter of GOD's Word, and seems to, if it really does not, deny its infallibility.

III. "We believe that GOD, before the foundation of the world predestinated His Elect to glory without respect to their works, and that there was none other cause which impelled Him to this election than His good pleasure, and Divine Mercy. In like manner that before the foundation of the world, He reprobated whom He would reprobate; of which reprobation, if a man will regard the absolute right and sovereignty of GOD, he will without doubt find the cause to be the Will of GOD: but if again he regards the laws and rules of good order which the Divine Will employs for the government of the world, he will find it to be justice. For GOD is long-suffering, but yet just." Predestination.

It must be confessed that some statements in this article tremble on the very verge of heresy: yet it must also be observed that absolute, irrespective predestination is nowhere asserted. As a set-off against this Article, we shall here introduce part of the XVIth, on Baptism; which it will be seen is perfectly Catholic.

"Wherefore, whoever is baptized as it is commanded in the Gospel, we do not doubt that his sins, actual as well as original, are remitted: so that they that are baptized in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, are regenerated, purified, and justified." Baptism.

It may be said that these two articles are inconsistent with each other, and, strictly speaking, perhaps they are so: the

natural consequence of a state of mind like that of Cyril, who still retained very much of Catholic Truth, but had unawares and by degrees imbibed no small portion of Calvinian heresy.

The IVth article, on the HOLY TRINITY, and the Origin of Evil; the Vth, on Providence; the VIth, on Original Sin, contain no statements which can be oppugned: in the VIIth, on the Incarnation of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, it is rather surprising that we do not find a more express denial of the Monophysite heresy, considering that Cyril had been, for nearly twenty years, spectator of its ravages in Egypt. The VIIIth, on the Mediation of CHRIST, gave rise to many of the subsequent misfortunes of Cyril, and was loudly accused of heresy. Even Cyril's friends have allowed that it is at variance with many of the devotional formularies of the Greek Church. Now there can be no doubt, we think, that Cyril, in his own private opinion, had departed from the Faith of the Church, by denying the Intercession of Saints; but he has expressed himself so guardedly in this Article, that it can hardly be said to be contrary to the Oriental Faith.

Mediation of CHRIST.

"We believe that our LORD JESUS CHRIST, sitting on the Right Hand of the FATHER, is there our Mediator, and pleadeth for us; that He alone does the work of a true and proper High Priest and Mediator; whence also He only takes care of His own Church, adorning and enriching it with various blessings and ornaments."

Now it seems most probable that Cyril intended in this article so to express his own,—namely the Protestant—belief, as not to be in direct opposition to the Eastern Church and her doctrine. He does not say that CHRIST is the Only Mediator: he affirms that He is the only TRUE and PROPER Mediator; and this may imply no more than that He is a Mediator in a manner in which the Saints are not; and this was never denied by any. Again, to guard himself still more effectually, he inserts something more, and confesses JESUS CHRIST to be the only true and proper HIGH PRIEST and Mediator: and this the Oriental Church could not deny without heresy. Whether such subterfuges were worthy of Cyril, is a very different question.

The IXth article, on Faith, is very meagre and unsatisfactory.

Justification by Faith.

"We believe that none can be saved without Faith. By Faith, we mean that which justifieth in JESUS CHRIST, which

the Life and the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ produced for us, and which the Gospel preaches, and without which it is impossible to please God."

X. "We believe that the Church which is called Catholic contains all the faithful in Christ, both those, who having fallen asleep have removed into their Country, and those who are yet strangers in the way; of which Church, because a mortal man can in no sense be head, our Lord Jesus Christ is Head alone. . . . . But since, in our sojourn in this world, there are particular Visible Churches, and each has in its order a President, he cannot properly be called head of that particular Church, but only by an abuse of terms, because he is the principal member in it." The Church.

The texts by which this Article is supported shew clearly the hand of some Presbyterian assistant.

The XIth Article must be pronounced heretical. "We believe that the members of the Catholic Church are the Saints, predestinated to Eternal Life; from the lot of, and participation with, whom, heretics are excluded. Although we discover and behold in particular Churches the chaff mingled with the wheat."

It is also awful to read the XIIth :—

"We believe that the Church Militant is sanctified and instructed by the Holy Ghost, for He is the True Paraclete, Whom Christ sendeth from the Father, to teach the Truth, and to scatter darkness from the minds of the faithful. But it is true and certain that the Church Militant may err, and choose falsehood instead of truth. And from this error and deceit the teaching and light of the Most Holy Spirit alone, not of mortal man, frees us. Although this may be done by the ministry of those who serve in His Church." Infallibility of the Church.

Thus stands the last sentence in the first edition of these Articles: in the second (which we shall presently notice,) we find a remarkable change. "This may be done by the ministry of those who FAITHFULLY serve in His Church." This implies, if it does not assert, another heresy:—that the unworthiness of Ministers hinders the effect of their ministrations.

XIII. "We believe that man is justified by Faith, not by works. But when we speak of Faith, we mean the correlative

of Faith, which is the Righteousness of CHRIST, on which Faith takes hold, as fulfilling the work of a hand, and applies it to us to salvation. . . . . But works are not to be neglected, as necessary means to the testifying our Faith, and the confirmation of our vocation, as the Truth itself teaches. But that they are sufficient of themselves to save a man, ... so as to give him salvation *ex condigno*, is proved by human frailty to be false; but the Righteousness of CHRIST, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the faithful."

The XIVth is on *Free-will*, and contains nothing remarkable.

In the XVth, he limits the number of the Sacraments to two, and affirms them to be signs of the promises, and to confer grace.

The XVIth we have already quoted. The XVIIth is on the Holy Eucharist. "In its administration," he says, "we confess a True Real Presence of CHRIST our LORD, but such a presence as Faith gives, not such an one as the rashly devised doctrine of Transubstantiation affirms. But we believe that the Faithful eat the Body of CHRIST in the LORD's Supper, but by receiving it with the sense of the soul." And he proceeds to condemn the denial of the Cup to the laity.

The Holy Eucharist.

The XVIIIth Article is on the State of the Departed. In this he asserts that they are in blessedness or condemnation: he expressly condemns the doctrine of Purgatory,—but says nothing of the Intermediate State.

The State of the Departed.

It was on this book that Metaxa was engaged, when the Jesuits determined to crush the unfortunate printer. To this end they represented to the Vizir, that a tract which Cyril had written in England against the Jews and Mahometans, was now to be published and widely disseminated, especially among the Cossacks; and that the aim of its publication was to incite a rebellion,—the more to be dreaded because the Sultan was going into Asia. The person whom they employed was a low favourite of the Vizir's, who had formerly been Vaivode of Galata. The Vizir was thrown into a fury, and gave orders that a hundred and fifty Janissaries should, on Friday, the fourth of January, break into Metaxa's house, seize his types and paper, and carry him to prison. The Jesuits were delighted with the plan: but Count de Cesi, angry at the protection given by Sir Thomas Rowe to the printer, suggested an improvement. On Sunday,

Preparations for the arrest of Metaxa.

the Feast of the Epiphany, the English ambassador was to have a dinner party, to which Cyril and the Venetian Baillie, a moderate man, were invited. "Let us defer the seizure," said the Count, "till that day, and it will serve as sauce to the dinner."

On that Sunday it happened providentially that Metaxa was at Galata. But the Janissaries, who were ignorant of this, accompanied by the officer appointed for that business, surrounded the house, broke into it, seized types, paper, machines, tools, and furniture of all kinds; but were much disappointed at missing Metaxa himself. In the midst of the confusion, he, expecting nothing of all this, returned from Galata with his friend, the Secretary of the English Legation. Some of the slaves, wishing to gain favour with the Turkish officer, pointing to Metaxa, cried out, "That's he! that's he!" But the Secretary coming forward, "This gentleman," he said, "is a member of the British Embassy; and I warn you, as you respect the Rights of Nations, not to touch him." Metaxa wore the English dress; and the assertion was by this means rendered the more credible; the two friends were allowed to pass to the Ambassador's Palace, but the booty seized amounted to 4,000 dollars.

Jan. 6, A.D. 1628.

His escape.

Sir Thomas Rowe, on receiving this intelligence, was naturally indignant; but determined to defeat the malice of his enemies, he passed the conclusion of the day in great festivity. On the Monday, the Vizir, who had already examined Cyril's book, and had turned down the pages which appeared to him to contain the most objectionable passages, summoned the Mollahs, and ordered the work to be interpreted to them by two apostate Greeks. In the meantime, Constantinople had been filled with strange rumours of a discovered conspiracy; and Cyril passed the Sunday night in the Ambassador's house.

Sir Thomas Rowe's indignation.

The Mollahs, on hearing the passages which the Vizir produced, gave it as their opinion, that nothing contained in them could constitute a capital crime, either as respected the author, or the printer. Cyril, on hearing this decision, came boldly before the Vizir, and protested his innocence. Still, however, some suspicion remained in the mind of that Vizir, and Cyril was kept under guard.

The Vizir consults the Mollahs.

The Mufti's resolution was next inquired; and the opinion of this officer was still more favourable to the affairs of Cyril. "Dogmas,"—it was thus that his sentence ran—"contrary to the precepts of Mahomet are not, on that account, necessarily blasphemous or criminal; since Christians are permitted by the Sultan to profess their doctrines, there can be no more harm in writing than in preaching in their defence: it is not simple belief, but an overt act, which renders men amenable to the laws." Sir Thomas Rowe, on hearing this, sent a message to the Vizir on the Tuesday, requesting an audience: and, on its being granted, proceeded to make his complaints in form. Metaxa, he said, was a guest of his, a subject of Venice, and allowed to exercise his trade by the free consent of the Vizir himself: the British and Venetian ambassadors had been grossly insulted, the stipulations of the Turkish government falsified; and for whom? For a class of turbulent intruders, whose machinations and frauds were now completely exposed. The Vizir, much alarmed, endeavoured to throw the blame on the Jesuits; but Sir Thomas Rowe, gathering courage from the terror of his antagonist, insisted on the restoration of Metaxa's goods, and the punishment of his enemies.

Sir Thomas Rowe complains to the Vizir. Jan. 8.

Canacchio Rossi, while the matter was yet pending, paid a visit to Cyril, to triumph over him in his fears; but he did himself more harm than good. For, happening in conversation to call the King of England the *head of the heretics*, he incurred the anger of Sir Thomas Rowe; and as intelligence shortly afterwards arrived from Rome, that fresh intrigues were carrying on against Cyril, and that an accusation would be preferred against him of an intention to excite a revolution among the Christians who were under the dominion of the Turks, the Patriarch and the English Ambassador determined to make one great effort for the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Fathers of that Society, conceiving themselves in danger, retired to the palace of the French Ambassador, and there concealed themselves for a fortnight; at the end of which time, conceiving that the storm had blown over, they returned to their convent. Here they were shortly afterwards arrested, and, together with Canacchio Rossi, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons. Indeed, their lives would have been in

The Jesuits and Canacchio Rossi imprisoned

some danger, had not those, whom they had so deeply injured, interceded for them. All the Jesuit settlements at Chios, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, were broken up: the Jesuits themselves were put on board a Christian vessel, and landed in Italy. Two, however, remained in the French Ambassador's house, where they at length obtained leave to officiate as his chaplains. and banished.

On the return of Sir Thomas Rowe to England, Cyril sent the Alexandrian Manuscript to King Charles, in token of his gratitude for the interference of England.

M. Leger was now pastor of the Dutch congregation at Pera: and he appears to have exercised considerable influence over Cyril. He and Von Haga, having been successful beyond their hopes at Constantinople, now turned their views to Alexandria, thinking that Gerasimus might be as easily won as his predecessor. They accordingly wrote to the Patriarch, and Cyril seems to have accompanied their letters with one of his own. They proposed, at the expense of the States-General, to erect colleges, and to establish printing-presses in Egypt, on condition that the Calvinistic bodies were received to the Communion of the Alexandrian Church.[1] The bribe was tempting, but Gerasimus thus replied, in an excellent letter. Intimacy between Leger and Cyril.

"Unity," he observes, "is that at which all Christians ought to aim; but it is necessary to be careful that it is a true, not a false unity. We can only give peace on the same terms on which Christ gave it. A suspected peace is more dangerous than open warfare. Colleges would indeed be a boon to Alexandria; but not on the terms proposed. The recent attempts to make the Scriptures more clear than Christ left them, are by no means to be approved. The obscurity of Scripture has always been confessed; the Apocalypse may more truly be called an *obvelation* than a revelation. There are, for those that need them, the catecheses of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. John Studites, S. Gregory Nyssen." Genevan attempt at Alexandria. Firmness of Gerasimus Spartaliotes.

Cyril had asked Gerasimus to send his confession of faith; and the latter refers, generally, to the Seven Œcumenical Councils. The letter is dated July 8, 1629.

[1] Leo Allatius, iii. 8, 4.

Cyril's Confession appears at Geneva.

Cyril, having been frustrated in his hope of publishing his Confession at Constantinople, sent it, through the hands of his friend Von Haga, to Geneva, where it was published in Latin.[1] It created a sensation throughout Europe: but the general impression seems to have been, that the document was a forgery. Not only the Calvinian tone, but the language in which it was written led, not unnaturally, to this conclusion. However, Matthew Caryophilus, a Greek by birth, and titular Bishop of Iconium, answered it in a *censura*, which appeared at Rome in 1631.

The Patriarch, finding that the authenticity of his work was denied, translated it into Greek, with one or two not unimportant alterations, in which he leans still further to the Calvinian school: and he added an Appendix, containing his decision on four important questions.

Four additional questions.

1. "Ought all the Faithful to be allowed to read Holy Scripture?"

He answers in the affirmative: supporting, as in his Confession, this decision with selected texts. Among these, we have a curious instance of his inaccuracy, or of his Genevan coadjutors' unfairness; for he actually brings forward, in proof of his assertion, the Pharisees' speech, "This people, that knoweth not the law, is accursed."

2. "Is Scripture easy of understanding?"

He replies, that the doctrines which are necessarily to be believed may certainly be discovered by regenerate persons, the Holy Ghost aiding them, and Scripture being compared with Scripture.

Again, not a word of the authority of the Church.

3. "What are the books which compose Holy Scripture?"

His answer is the same as that of the Sixth Article.

4. "What are we to think of images?"

"As we are taught," he answers, "in Divine and Holy Scripture: 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,' &c., since we ought not to adore a creature, but the Creator of Heaven and earth alone. Whence it is clear that we do not reprobate painting, since it is a noble and illustrious art; and

[1] Confess. Genev. Ed. 1633, p. 79.

furthermore, we allow any who will to possess images of CHRIST and the Saints. But we detest their adoration and worship ..... and we pity him who thinks differently in this matter, as having his mind darkened by the grossest shades of blindness." This addition to the Confession was written in January, 1631; and, together with the Greek Version, sent by M. Leger to Geneva, where they appeared in 1633.[1]

In the meantime, a very close intimacy was springing up between Cyril and M. Leger. In addition to the letters published by Aymon, we have procured twenty-three, which were addressed by the Patriarch to the Dutch preacher. It is interesting to watch the progress of the friendship. At first we have only short notes of business, such as this:

"Molto Reverendo Signore,

"Ho pigliato grand dispiacere non havendomi potuto truovarse con lei. Ho mandato per impedir le se non venire, ma non mi hanno servito li mezzi con fideltà. Scrivo all' eccelentissimo signore imbasciatore, e da quella letera potra V. R. intender qualche parte. Venerdi, cosi piacendole si tratuaremo a parlar del tutto. Le mando la letera del signor Bisterfeldio.

"Di vostra Reverentia affetionatissimo fratello

"il Patriarcha di Constantinopoli."

Then gradually, they become more familiar: Leger applies to Cyril for the loan of the works of S. Gregory and S. Isidore: the Patriarch sends the former, but does not possess the latter: then remembrances to the *illustrissima Madonna*, and the *Signora Leonora* begin to be interspersed: then we find parties of pleasure projected by the Patriarch, in company with the Papas Joannicius, and the Dutch preacher. All these slight hints prove how rapidly the intimacy was advancing.

Diodati, of Geneva, sent as a present to Cyril, his translation of the Bible, in return for this confession: and the Patriarch thus answered his letter.[2] The date is April 15, 1632.

[1] Smith, p. 44; in the English Life, p. 272. The title of the censure of Matthew Caryophilus was, Censura Confessionis Fidei, seu potius Perfidiæ Calvinianæ quæ nomine Cyrilli Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani circumfertur. It was translated by the author into Greek, and published at Rome in 1632.

[2] Aymon, pp. 27—36.

Correspondence between Cyril and Diodati.

"Praised be the LORD GOD our Creator and Father in Providence, because by His HOLY SPIRIT he readily unites his elect, however distant; as the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST, when dispersed throughout the world, some in Asia, others in Europe, at so great a distance from each other, were still united by the bonds of charity and of the HOLY SPIRIT, and preached one and the same faith, to the glory of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the edification of souls. The same has likewise been our lot at this time; for distance has been no obstacle to the introduction of that Christian acquaintance between your Reverence and me, which is excellently suited to brethren in spirit and faithful ministers of the Word.

"I had, at first, great delight from the letters sent me by your University, through the Rev. Mr. Leger, when you made mention of my friend, Father Metrophanes, for the good beginning we had made of knowing each other better; knowing, moreover, that you all who wrote to me are real standard-bearers of the Gospel and of the orthodox faith.

"I cannot sufficiently express the great esteem I have for your Bible, which Dr. Leger has presented to me. It is a holy work, and will, I am persuaded, be highly useful to the True Church of the Faithful, and will render your name, in spite of the efforts of envy, immortal. This book has also made me better acquainted with you, and has rendered your language familiar to me notwithstanding the distance which separates us. I have a new subject for you, with a consideration that this happiness was bestowed on me by Dr. Leger, who, from his zeal for all that concerns your Church, your theology, and yourselves, never loses an opportunity in conversation with me, to exalt your virtues, and to speak of the great merit of those who form the Venerable University of Geneva.

"I trust that this alliance will for the future contribute abundantly to the benefit of Christian souls and the real Church of JESUS CHRIST, to which we in our course of life have not been able to be as useful as we could have desired, because the Patriarchal charge which we have borne for twenty years in Egypt, and for other twelve here in Constantinople, has been so harassed and oppressed by various temporary storms, and by many persecutions from Antichrist and his angels, that it has not

been able to produce that spiritual fruit which we really desired. But we hope that the LORD GOD will for the future have pity on us, and on the people of this Greek Church; which (I would have your reverence to know), although destitute of learning, for want of means, and other grave causes, is yet so persevering in the faith of JESUS CHRIST, that a person would scarcely be credited who should recount the afflictions they daily sustain, and the tortures they are exposed to, that their religion may sustain no damage. And in so great simplicity, or (more correctly, if you will,) in such ignorance, the people are, and have shewn themselves most constant in the faith of JESUS CHRIST; nor allow themselves to be seduced by sophists, after all that Jesuitical artifice has many times attempted to draw them to obedience to Antichrist; but through GOD's good providence, it has all proved in vain. Such is then the Greek Church; which if it has some superstitions, (and it does not lack that taint,) I assert with a safe conscience that they have come in process of time from the Roman Church, which commonly infects whatever it touches; whence it is necessary to treat it with gentle and slow remedies, if perchance GOD from heaven may grant to some person the favour to bring it to perfection."

After some further remarks, he proceeds,

"At present I have published nothing else but the Confession of Faith that Dr. Leger has transmitted to you: with respect to which you tell me that you are waiting my orders to publish it. Be assured, Sir, that I have written it from the impulse of my own mind, with the design of letting all the world know what I believe, and confess publicly. I did not expect that this confession would have given the Papists so much offence as they shew that it has: for the truth, which, by the grace of GOD, is contained in that confession, ought not to be hateful to them. Here in Constantinople many copies of this my confession have been written, and many friends have requested me to authenticate it with my own hand, which I did not refuse them; but now they no longer need copies published with my signature, for the reasons which I will presently make known to you. The testimony of a most upright and Christian gentleman, such

as your most excellent ambassador, Cornelius Haga, would have been sufficient for my confession, had it not been for the opposition of men of a bad conscience; why, I know not. Now, there will be no further room for any calumny of such false dealers; for I have just been visiting the most illustrious Count of Marchville, now ambassador of France, who has lately arrived, to congratulate him according to custom, on his arrival; and his Excellency, after having conversed with me, and finished the usual compliments, brought out to me my confession, and shewed it to me, inquiring whether it was mine. When I had recognized it, I replied that it was my Confession and Profession. His Excellency then produced a letter, written from Rome by the Ambassador of the most Christian king residing there, in which was contained, that the Pope sent that confession to the Ambassador here, that he might shew it to me, and inquire if it was mine, and whether I intended to persist in it. I then replied, without fear, that it was mine, and that I had written it because I so hold, believe, and confess; and that if any error was found in it, and he would point it out to me, I would answer him like a Christian, and in good faith. His excellency then introduced into the room where we were conversing the head of the Capuchins here, called Friar Archangel, brother of M. de Fosse, Governor of Montpelier, a person much esteemed. In his presence I repeated similar words; but at that time other discussions intervened between his Excellency and myself, which were of no profit, and I therefore omit them.

"This is what passed. I now come to say that my confession has no need of authentication. It will be always authenticated by the testimony of the very professors of Popery; for there came to me other persons beside—friars, seculars, and the very agents of Ragusa—and on their expressing a wish to know if the confession was mine, I gave them the same answer. I am certainly surprised that these people are so anxious about my confession; and if I had known this before I published it, I would have made it fuller, and more copious; but with the help of God, it may be done better than before.

"Now, your Reverence writes to me that you are waiting my orders to give it to the light, and I reply that I submit myself to the most prudent and Christian judgment of your Reverence,

and of all the College of my brethren in CHRIST and professors in your University; to all of whom I send my brotherly salutation. If that confession appears to you worthy to testify and to make manifest to all what we here profess with our latest breath, in the name of GOD publish it, with some texts of Scripture and other testimonies which I have collected with M. Dr. Leger, as you shall think fit. All this we leave and recommend to your Christian charity.

"We hope in GOD that we shall proceed with other more evident signs, to let the world know that we will have no communion with the Roman Church, which is the mother of errors, the corrupter of the Word of GOD, and the nest of superstitions, how many false traitors soever do not choose to acknowledge and confess the truth. I might here take occasion to mention certain acts which are going on at this time of certain rash Roman heretics, who, to flatter Antichrist, under the specious name of defending the Roman Catholic Faith, continue to write against us, to impede our course and our calling. But I pass them by as dogs who bark but cannot bite. But be it known to heaven and earth, that in matters of religion the Greek Church and we all will have no communion with papists. Far be it from us, and our Church at Constantinople. For myself, I wish to let the world know that I am already an aged man, and I desire to die, whenever it pleases GOD, with the truth of JESUS CHRIST in my heart, and on my lips, and to have it for a seal and mark upon my conscience. The flock committed to me I will, if possible, guide into the road which leads to the kingdom of heaven."

The account which Cyril gives of his interview with the Count of Marchville, deserves a little further explanation.[1]

Count de Marchville, Ambassador from France.

On the arrival of the Count of Marchville as ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, Cyril thought proper to pay his respects and congratulations. He was well received; and conversation was carried on in Italian. The Ambassador addressed him as "Your Eminence," by a title not long before in-

[1] Smith, 45—47. He professes to give his account from a letter of Von Haga's of January 17, 1632.

troduced as appropriate to Cardinals, and invited him to dinner. After this, the Count, producing the Confession of Faith, inquired if Cyril had composed it, and supposing that report to be true, if he still entertained the same sentiments. Cyril, after carefully examining it, replied that he was; adding that if there were errors in it, he should be most happy to be convinced of them from Holy Scripture; that, however, the Pope had no right to interfere in the matter; that if his views were heretical, it was the duty of the hundred Greek Metropolitans and Bishops, over whom he presided, canonically assembled in Synod, to expose and condemn them. The Ambassador replied, that His Eminence was believed, no less in France than at Rome, to be a Calvinist; that his master bore a particular hatred to that sect; and that it would be greatly to his advantage to embrace the Roman Catholic Faith. Cyril answered, that in a matter of such fearful importance, where eternal salvation was at stake, he would neither follow the example of the King of France, nor of any one else, without mature deliberation. The Patriarch and the Ambassador then parted on good terms.

Cyril owns his Confession,

and endeavours to justify it.

Shortly after this, two schismatical Greek Prelates, the one Metropolitan of Sophia, or Sardica, and either Meletius I. or II.,[1] the other of Bulgaria, named Nectarius,[2] arrived from Rome, with the design of expelling Cyril. They were entertained by the French Ambassador; and the danger appeared considerable. Cyril had now less protection from the English Embassy than formerly. For Sir Peter Wych, though, on the whole, well disposed towards him, was not on such intimate terms with him as Sir Thomas Rowe had enjoyed; and it must be remembered that Calvinian influence was rapidly declining in the Court of England, with the increasing power of Laud, then Bishop of London.

Metropolitans of Sophia and Bulgaria against Cyril.

The two Metropolitans at first contented themselves with railing at Cyril,[3] calling him heretic, infidel, and Lutheran: they next called together such Prelates as happened to be at Constantinople, and informed them that as soon as they received further instructions from Rome, they would purchase the Patri-

[1] Le Quien, ii. 304, 5.
[2] Le Quien, ii. 299.
[3] Smith, p. 54.

archate, and farm it out. Cyril hastily summoned his friends, and, by their prudent counsel, exposed the whole plot to the Vizir; and the danger was thus for the time averted. But, soon afterwards, the two Metropolitans won three more to their side; and the five united had almost procured the banishment of the Patriarch: but a present of ten thousand dollars to the Porte baffled their design.

Cyril of Beræa

But, in October, 1633, Cyril Contari, Metropolitan of Beræa, a pupil of the Jesuits, became a far more formidable antagonist. He had been raised to the Episcopate by Timothy[1]; and on the resignation of the See of Thessalonica by Paisius, who took up his residence in Muscovy, he was dispatched by Cyril to govern that Church during the vacancy. Attracted by the pleasantness of the situation, and the conveniences of the city, Contari requested from the Patriarch to be elevated to the See; but Cyril had already destined it for Anastasius Pattelari, who was accordingly invested with that dignity. This disappointment was never forgiven by Contari; and now, having been incautiously sent on a mission by Cyril to collect alms for the Church of Constantinople in Muscovy, with the money thus collected he determined to purchase the Patriarchate, for which he promised fifty thousand dollars. He could not, however, raise the full sum, and was, therefore, banished, with an accomplice, to Tenedos.

Feb. 1634.

Cyril met with ingratitude in all quarters. Anastasius Pattelari, forgetful of the benefit he had received, and of his connexion with Cyril, (for he was his fellow countryman,) offered sixty thousand dollars for the Patriarchate: Cyril was deposed, and banished to Tenedos also. Contari was no longer here, having been already forgiven by the kindhearted Patriarch. During his exile, Cyril corresponded with M. Leger, who seems to have gained a stronger influence over him than any of the other Calvinists had been able to obtain. At the end of a month, Anastasius was deposed.[2] The Patriarchate was again offered to Cyril, on condition of his raising seventy thousand dollars; which was at length effected by extraordinary exertion

and Anastasius Pattelari against Cyril.

[1] Leo Allat. 1075 (iii. xi. 5). Smith gives rather a different account.

[2] Phil. Cyp. 16.

and great self-denial on the part of his poor flock; and he
A.D. 1635. returned to Constantinople in June. It appears that M. Leger designed to return to Geneva, probably on a temporary absence. On the 28th of August, o.s., Cyril writes to him to request him to provide a fitting superintendent for the press: and also, "pregarla, suplicarla e protestarla per le vescere del N. S. Jesu Christo che vogli differire anco questo inverno l'andata sua." And he even says, "Cosi vi prego che facerati questa gratia non a me, ma à tutta la Chiesa." Leger seems to have given way.[1]

We give another Letter verbatim as Cyril wrote it[2]:—

"Reverendissimo e dotissimo mon Signor Leger, Fratello in Jesu Christo Dilettissimo post Christianam et fraternam salutem.

"Molto mi consolano le lettere di Vostra Reverentia differentemente truovando, e scoprendo in quelle spirito d'Iddio: ne è maraviglia: perche la vostra conscienza essendo vaso del Spirito Santo e della sua verità, uno che ancor noi participamo del Odore benedetto, e tanto lontani di stanti, con molta utilità del nostro spirito: lo quale sempre lo abbiate giovato, nella pratica che habiamo havuto: e vi sono molto obligato appresso Iddio: sebene io non habbia mai voluto rivelare à Vostra Reverentia questo secreto che adesso voi mi havete fato capace del sacrosanto mystero dell'eucharistia: che mi sono lavati tutti li dubii e tengo questo per un Thesoro da Vostra Reverentia donatomi: e per gratia d'Iddio non risparmio di communicar ad altri la verità del sacramento con frutto Christiano: si bene crepasse il Coressi et quanti altri si accordano con lui: quali sono quelli che occupano tyrannicamente il santuario d'Iddio: huomini ignoranti, falssi, e traditori della fede del nostro Signor Jesu Christo: questi tali sapendo che caso che io dal presente essilio mi liberasse, si hanno da confonder, e andar de male: mettono tutte le forze loro, e fanno tanta ruina per tenerme qui, e se puotessero piu lontano sepelir mandarme: ma io che nella mia Causa tengo avocato sicuro il mio Signor Jesu Christo,

[1] This letter has never been published; but it now lies before us. It is marked 14 in the Geneva Collection.

[2] This letter also has never been published. It is not marked in the Geneva Collection.

spero che le cose in altra maniera si rivolterano à confusione di loro, et a nostra consolatione: Iddio Signore benedetto facci quello che è espediente all' anima e conscienza nostra: altro non dico. Li quaterni che mi ha qui mandato ho descritto, e voleva rimandargli, ma ho differito perchè non sene viene huomo nostro sicuro: chi verrà primo della miei, lui li portarà: sara contenta Vostra Reverentia communicarmi il suo paralello: se tarda il mio ritorno costi? che Vostra Reverentia deve sapere: se non tarda le vedro doppo che saro venuto. Alli signori dello Synodo di Hollanda voglio scriver solennemente, ma la dilatione fatta insin hora è perche qui son privo d'ogni commodità, per scriver come voglio: et io havendo speranza di giorno in giorno di liberarmi ho tralasciato: ma in questo puoco che resta aspetarò: e puoi deliberarò di fare: tutti li falssidici e adversarii della verità corrono in Babylonia, in adoratione della statua: et è tra l' Idolo et tra quelche curvat genu, un bel trafico e l'uno vuol ingrevar l'altro. Il furbo Patelaro sperando di haver soccorso alla sua miseria è fuggito à Roma con senso che sene va per zelo della Catholica Religione, non puotendo star in Turchia per che era da me persequitato, per causa della Religione: quest' è la scusa della sua peregrinatione: il Papa, come intendo, l'ha visto bene, non per volergli bene, ma per mostrar di fuori, che noi siamo inimici della fede Catholica, e fabricare conforme vengono li Architetti Jesuiti à insegnare: e cosi ingana l'un l'altro: misero chi si fonda sopra la falssità: non dico altro. Iddio Signore guardi e feliciti Vostra Reverentia.

"Di Rhodis alli 29 Decembre, stylo vechio, 1635.

"Di Vostra Signoria Reverentissima amico
"et fratello in Christo,

Cyrillo Patriarcha Ex:—

In the next year,[1] the Sultan happening to be absent in the provinces, Contari requested an audience; and being now free

[1] Smith, 56.

from the opposing influence of the English and Dutch Ambassadors, again obtained possession of the Œcumenical Throne. Cyril was again banished, and at Chios he wrote the following letter, which can be called nothing less than profane, to M. Leger:—

Cyril banished to Rhodes.

"Most Reverend M. Leger, my most dear brother in CHRIST,—

"Arrived here at Scio, I have found rest, being delivered from the hands of my enemies, as Your Reverence will understand from our most excellent Ambassador, to whom I gave a particular account of everything. Praised be the Divine Providence that He cares for His own, and does not leave them to the end. Many gentlemen of this country, and learned persons, visit me in my lodging, and we dispute, moreover, in a tolerable way. Yesterday, speaking of the Mediator, I learned a fine doctrine of Dr. Coressi's, who said to me that it is quite true that there is one Mediator, JESUS CHRIST; but then, said he, there are other lesser ones who intercede. Thus said Coressi. M. Leger, on my conscience I say with truth, that Coressi and the rest of his adherents are so ignorant, that their arguments and disputations make sensible men sick, and the Jesuits are their dupes; and I am astonished that they do not perceive how void of sense and judgment they are. With all this, the ignorant vulgar think a great deal of Coressi, not for his learning, but because he is a good companion. I found out this in three days after I had been in Scio; and I wished to communicate it to Your Reverence, that you might know with what sort of a person you dispute about that high subject of Transubstantiation which makes JESUS CHRIST out of a piece of bread or wafer.

"For the rest, Signor Dr. Leger, His Excellency will easily explain to you my condition, both what and how it is. I conclude by sending my respects, and pray the LORD to vouchsafe you every good thing."

"Chios, 4, 14 April, 1635."

Coressi defends the Church against Cyril.

This letter shews that the belief of Cyril was now openly heretical; and that he deserved deposition. Coressi[1] was a

[1] Aymon, pp. 69, seq. Simon, Hist. Crit. p. 45. Aymon most unfairly tries to prove Coressi a Romanist.

native of Chios, educated at Padua, but a warm champion of the Eastern Church; the teaching of which he seems to have stated fairly in his argument with the Patriarch.

Contari, meanwhile, was carrying things with a high hand. He assembled a Synod, and anathematized Cyril as a Lutheran: (a proceeding which shewed little Theological knowledge, for no sentiments could be more different than those of Luther and the Patriarch:) he openly declared his submission to the See of Rome, and declared his intention of sending Cyril prisoner to the Pope,—a thing easy to be done by engaging a Maltese or Florentine pirate for the purpose. Cyril was aware of his danger, and perceiving that a sudden incursion might carry him off from Chios, he mentioned this to the Turkish Vice-Admiral, Becher Pasha, and was thereupon removed to Rhodes.

He hence wrote to M. Leger:[1]

"Most Reverend M. Leger.

"With my respects.

"I wrote a few hasty lines from Scio to give you an idea of the value of certain persons who profess to be divines. My young friend, Meletius, has now arrived at this place, and brought me your letter which encourages and comforts me. I receive everything from your Reverence as a singular favour of a true and faithful servant of God. Your holy prayers will always help me in these my misfortunes, which I support without fear, feeling that my adversaries proceed without justice, without the fear of God, without truth, with a reprobate mind and an evil conscience. Have I then anything to fear from these smoking firebrands? What God requires of me will be, and nothing else. These impostors see that they cannot succeed as long as I am alive, and they have woven more snares for me than I can write. The most diabolical of them is their having agreed with the agent of the Emperor, and other Magistrates, to have me betrayed to Corsairs on my road here and carried to Rome. For this purpose, they had public firmans and letters to the Corsairs, which no one would have been aware of, if the very men who accompanied me had not made it public. One of these and the prin-

[1] Aymon, p. 77.

cipal, was that impostor and traitor of a bishop who wrote to your Reverence. But GOD in a moment took and delivered me from their hands, without my having a thought of it, and they remained confounded and ashamed. Now I am waiting for what it may please GOD to send me.

"Rhodes, April 26, o.s. 1635."

Cyril at Rhodes.

In another letter, of the 15th of June,[1] we find Cyril requesting information from M. Leger as to the proper mode of reconciling the apparent discrepancy of SS. Paul and James on the subject of Justification by Faith. It would almost seem as if the difficulty had never before struck the mind of Cyril. And, indeed, he appears disposed to reject entirely the authenticity of S. James's Epistle. "He says nothing," he observes, "of the Mystery of the Incarnation: he only mentions the name of JESUS CHRIST once or twice, and then coldly: he only attends to morality."

It is easy to imagine the explanations which M. Leger would give: and how eagerly Cyril received them, is plain from another passage in this same letter. "I have read," he says, "with great attention your treatise on the Eucharist . . . . it has given me much light on the subject."

Again, under the date of July 16-26, he says.[2]

"The letters of your Reverence give me comfort because they are full of Christian spirit and charity; especially as I find myself in the garden of the world, where I pluck the deadly fruits of earth, full of bitterness and woe. I obtain refreshment only from the study of spiritual things; and situated as I am, by looking up on high, from whence comes all aid to those who hope in the LORD, I make little account of the persecutions of my adversaries, and wait with great confidence for the relief of the Divine mercy. One thing annoys me—viz., that your Reverence's book upon Transubstantiation which I had has fallen into the hands of those villanous traitors. I mention it that you may provide me another copy. I highly esteem

[1] Aymon, p. 85. [2] Aymon, p. 101.

that book, because Coressi and his followers are so confounded by the force of living truth contained in the arguments that they stand silent. I pray you, then, to do me the favour to have it transcribed for me, because I wish to send it as far as Candia, where they have carried my confession, and are in doubt upon that article. The doctrine of Antichrist has so prevailed, that it is a very difficult business to combat it. If GOD gives me freedom to pass by Scio I will enter the lists with Coressi and Berli; and I will publish the truth of the true evangelical doctrine and of our confession, which is a home-thrust to all papists, and in like manner to that hypocrite and false Patriarch Contari, and that other impostor Athanasius, Πεσχος, who is running off to Rome, they say, to put on the Cardinal's hat for deposing a Calvinist Patriarch, and preaches this everywhere, as he runs about like a madman.

"You see the state in which we are, and there is no one who has enough of the fear of GOD and Christian prudence to remedy these evils; but as I am an old man, perhaps the blessed GOD may still grant me grace to make them understand in what darkness they are.

"I have no more at present. May the LORD GOD bless your worthy person, and the labours you sustain for the LORD'S glory, and give you every good and satisfaction."

It appears that Cyril was at this time correcting his confession. In a letter dated September 22, o.s., he says, "Mando il resto della confessione riduta al miglior modo: perchè li adversarii non truovono strada di calumniare."

Cyril remained in Rhodes for more than a year. In a letter to M. Leger,[1] dated June 17-27, 1636, he writes,

"It is a difficult thing in this Patmos in which I am placed to have intelligence of what is passing with you, if we have not express messages from our domestics, or are not informed by our good friends there. I was always aware of the evil disposition of George Coressi under the veil of evangelical truth. But now some of our people, who have come from thence, have related

[1] Aymon, p. 107.

that the said Coressi was arrived in Constantinople with a scholar of the Jesuits, and was at present staying there. And it is more than true, that not having succeeded in the art of medicine which he professed, he has become a mercenary and parasite of an infamous person, and one who is worthy to assail the true doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Apostles, and of all orthodox doctors; and the unhappy wretch, thinking that he has found his fortune in prosperity, is falling down the precipice of eternal damnation, disguised in various forms of heresy.

"In the first place, he is an idolater, then a justiciary; thirdly, a despiser of grace, a corrupter of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. He thinks that Christ our Lord has many associates in mediation. He believes in purgatory after death; and in a word, although he pretends not to be a papist, he has Bellarmine for his master; and then, to speak the truth with a safe conscience, he is a hardened Epicurean who believes in nothing. He does not agree with the Papists, because they despise him. He holds with the Grecks, because he finds with them wherewithal to fatten his sides; but he is in fact, totally at variance with them all, being in his heart a rank Atheist. And so he goes roaming about the world, and with this mask is come to you. I do not know what the mighty deceiver is doing; I hope the traitor will be known for what he is, and the glory of Jesus Christ remain entire, and Coressi confounded and put to shame."

Resignation of Gerasimus.

It was apparently about the time of Cyril's exile in Rhodes, that Gerasimus, worn out with years and labours, determined to abdicate the Chair of S. Mark. He accordingly retired, with the reputation of eminent learning and holiness, to a Monastery, where he passed the short remainder of his life. Metrophanes Critopulus, Metropolitan of Memphis, was elected Patriarch.[1] But, notwithstanding his communication with Dutch Protestants, his early bias in their favour, his Calvinistic confession,

Metrophanes Patr. LXXXIV. Circ. A.D. 1636. A.M. 1352.

[1] The reproach of Papadopoli who calls Metrophanes "Alexandrinæ sedis Lutheranorum auro pretiosum emptorem," seems perfectly meaningless. Le Quien, ii. 509. At all events it is too bad both to call him a Lutheran, and also, with Simon, "Creance de l'Eglise," to make him a witness for Transubstantiation.

and subsequent intercourse with Cyril, he appears to have retracted his errors in time, as we shall see by his subsequent conduct. Indeed, two letters which he wrote to Leger while Bishop of Memphis, exhibit a great difference from the strains which Cyril employed towards him. We give one which has never been published, as a specimen.[1]

In the meantime the true character of Cyril of Berœa, was daily discovering itself. His blind obedience to Rome enraged

[1] "Reverendo doctissimoque viro, Domino Antonio Legero, amico suo carissimo et dilectissimo. In Galatam.

"Salutem et pacem in DOMINO nostro JESU CHRISTO. Amorem tuum erga nos et zelum erga CHRISTI ecclesiam, R. Domine, agnovi ex tuis eruditissimis literis et quod amorem quidem, literali quasi materiâ conaris extitare ut sit omnibus elonge notus instar ignis præconii, φρυκτωρίας, ut possit alios quoque ad imitationem provocare. Zelum vero manifestatum facis dum egerime videris fere distractas ecclesiæ Christianæ partes, et cogitas quantum ad te pertinet, istas in unitatem fidei coire. Hunc utrinque laudabilem tuum affectum, non possumus non laudare: idem enim nobis quoque accedit: itaque non debemus spem prorsus adimere. Ille Θεάνθρωπος Qui præstantissimum Suum Sanguinem effundere pro Sua Ecclesiâ non recusavit, aliquando, imo vero cito, spero quod expergiscetur quasi ex somno in auxilium Suæ Sponsæ, et vires ipsius colliget et in pristinum statum restituet. Quia vero DEUS et ab hominibus postulat aliquando συνέργειαν quandam, non quod Ipsius immensa et αὐτοδύναμος potentia invalida est ad omnia in momento conficienda, sed quia ita visum est Ipsius sapientiæ, ut bonorum et piorum hominum τὸ δοκίμιον cognosceretur, neque nos ociosi erimus hac in re, sed, Divinâ clementiâ favente et cooperante (sine quâ nihil possumus agere) prompto animo erimus, et si opus esset morte etiam fungi, sine gemitu ac modo non pæana canentes, ni fato concedemus. Defendemus itaque doctrinam sanam et salutarem: quam prophetæ instar fundamenti jecerunt, DOMINUS CHRISTUS aperuit, Apostoli ubique terrarum prædicaverunt, Doctores et pastores ecclesiæ docuerunt, et posterioribus tradiderunt, et omnes ὀρθόδοξον χριστιανὸν alacriter acceperunt et hucusque incorruptè tenent et tenebunt usque ad consummationem mundi. Hanc inquam Divinitus revelatam doctrinam defendemus ad mortem usque.

De libris ἀνεκδότοις, quorum κατάλογον à nobis postulat tua reverentia, apud nos quidem nulli reperiuntur, nisi istorum auctorum, qui post σχίσμα scripsere contra Latinos, de processione Spiritûs Sancti. D. Meletii στρωματεα, hactenus non inveni καλλαγράφον quendam qui possit describere ut mitteremus vobis alterum exemplar. Sed dabitur opera hâc de re. Interrogavi monachos S. Catarinæ, utrum reperiuntur in monte Sinâ hujusmodi libri: dixerunt mihi ne scire alios esse in sua Βιβλοθήκη [sic] preter Σχόλια diversorum et antiquorum Doctorum in totum 106. Rogavi ipsos maximopere mittere dicta Σχόλια ad me, ergo autem ad vestram Reverentiam: ad excudenda scilicet aliquando: si possint prodesse ecclesiæ CHRISTI. Illi vero nunc negant: et adhuc tergiversantur: nescio quid facturi sint. De Dioscoritis, seu Cofitis, nihil potui hactenus

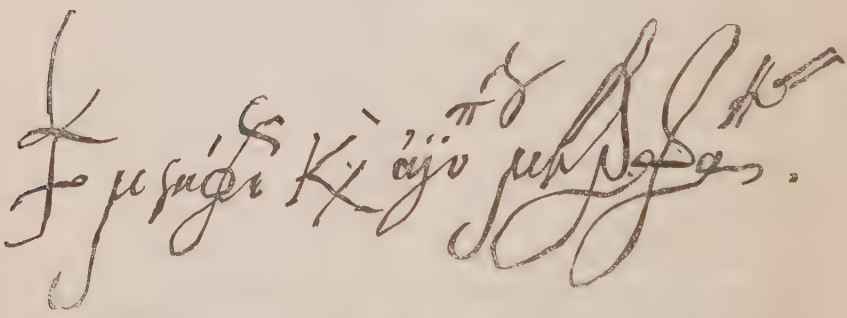
the Oriental Church:[1] the friends of Lucar never ceased to urge his recall; and a synod of Bishops having been called, the intruder was formally deposed. Doubtless, a new Patriarch ought to have been elected: but, the greater part would hear of none but Cyril Lucar:—and in excuse of this conduct, we may remark, that the free disclosures which Cyril made to M. Leger, were probably not vouchsafed to members of his own Church: so, that though many must have regarded him as unsound, few could have known him to be undoubtedly heretical. However, as his recall would necessarily be a work of time, and could not be brought to pass without money, and as the Church of Constantinople was in need of a head, Neophytus of Heraclea,[2] a pupil of Cyril Lucar, was raised to that dignity: but, as it would seem, with the understanding that he should resign it on his master's return. The new Patriarch was a man of the most unambitious and amiable disposition; he gave almost all that

Cyril of Berœa deposed.

Neophytus, Patriarch of Constantinople.

cum istis agere: sunt enim homines rudes et litterarum omnino expertes: etiam ipsa nomina sacrorum Βιβλίων ignorant, nedum scient quæcumque ista continent. Atque de his quidem satis est. Tu autem, vir doctissime, vale et mane semper in amicitia ista quæ hactenus non temere et sine ratione, contracta est inter nos. Datum in nostra metropoli: 15 calendarum Martii. Anno salutis nostræ—1636:

Tuæ Reverentiæ amicus,



Causa propter quam non misi vobis per Turcicani classem, fuit mihi morbus, quo laboravi tunc temporis et multo post.

[1] Smith, p. 57.

[2] Smith considers Neophytus merely to have acted as guardian of the Patriarchate (58): but the words of Philip of Cyprus are express: πατριαρχεύσας νομίμως καὶ κανονικῶς, (p. 17.) And so Le Quien, i. 334.

he had to the subscription raised for procuring the return of Cyril. At length, in the beginning of August, 1636, the aged Patriarch was restored. On his arrival at Constantinople, he took up his abode in the house of the Dutch Ambassador: and finding that Neophytus was in possession of the Œcumenical Throne, came to the resolution of resigning his office. But Neophytus at once abdicated; and Cyril was again, and for the the last time, restored to the dignity. Cyril Lucar restored.

M. Leger was now about to return to Geneva: and by him the Patriarch wrote to the Senators of that town.[1] Happy for him had his life been cut short before he was permitted thus, in the sight of Europe, to abandon the Faith. Leger goes to Geneva.

After giving an account of his own exile, he says,

"I arrived here by Divine Providence a few days ago, [the letter is dated the 17th of August,] when my very learned friend, M. Leger, was just upon the point of setting out, so that I had the power of sending my present letter by him . . . . . On my return I did not go to the Patriarchal residence, but lodged in the house of the most excellent Ambassador of Flanders, where I receive the visits of all, and am in some repose.

"And now, most illustrious and learned sirs, I have briefly written an account, to delineate which more perfectly would require the pen of a more eloquent historian.

"With all this the evil ceases not; persecution ceases not, but creeps like water under straw. Antichrist envies the kingdom and glory of our Redeemer; bears not His greatness and long-sufferings; alarms the simple with the name of Calvin, a most holy and wise doctor, who rejoices in heaven, and has his portion with the saints who are most dear to their Redeemer. None of these opposers has ever read the books and works of Calvin, or has any knowledge of the doctrine of so great a doctor. Notwithstanding, they alarm the ignorant and simple with the name of Calvin; but by the grace of God, those who know the truth have opposed them, and have scattered the darkness from many minds; in which work the presence of my most learned friend, M. Leger, has been of great advantage. He by

[1] Aymon, pp. 27—36.

his preaching and writing, has turned a great number to the light, and wonderfully confounded the adversaries. To the glory of the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, they dare not come forward, and I, who have been pointed at as a heretic, am here present, and no one dares to speak a word. Not only so, but they are all coming submissively to beg my pardon, except two or three of the ringleaders, whom I have not yet admitted to my presence, although some intercede for them. But I am reserving myself for the first congregation to which I shall have to preach, that I may treat them according to their deserts, which will be death to them.

"I have now opened the inmost recesses of my heart to you, most illustrious and most reverend sirs, as to my most loving brethren, embracing your doctrine, which is orthodox and Catholic, and abhorring the doctrine of our adversaries, the false and corrupt Roman doctrine. I know that the mountains rise and conspire against me in consequence of this my profession; but I will always say, the LORD is my light and my salvation—whom then shall I fear? The LORD is the protector of my life—of whom shall I be afraid? And encircled with this hope I will fight in this time of my age against the adversaries, until the Blessed LORD shall call me, and by your prayers vouchsafe to me the kingdom of heaven, where we shall see ourselves with you, sirs, most illustrious and most reverend, gifted with white robes, with palms in our hands, in the sight of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, for Whose glory we all fight, and shall embrace each other in everlasting glory and eternal felicity."

On these extracts we need offer no remarks. They shew how completely Cyril had now identified himself with the Genevan heresy.

A.D. 1637. On the tenth of March in the following year, he writes in a similar strain to M. Leger. One extract may suffice.[1]

"By the favour of GOD we hope that the state of the Church will be restored, the orthodox faith be propagated, the truth shine forth, and everything be reformed according to the rule of the Word of GOD. I fancy that that mad divine, Coressi, wishes to acknowledge himself mistaken. He has written to me, in a letter of his, that if by chance I should be writing to Your

[1] Aymon, pp. 115—118.

Reverence, I am to send you his respects; and he calls Your Reverence my fellow champion. I have not written to him, but I have sent him word that I would not send Your Reverence the respect of such a person; but that if he wishes it done, he knows how to write, and may write himself.

"The most important articles assailed by these traitors are the true doctrine of the Sacrament, (for the name of a false transubstantiation is very sweet to the taste of the ignorant,) as likewise the intercession of minor mediators, prayers to Saints, and the adoration of idols. May the LORD GOD by his HOLY SPIRIT open our minds, that we may so mind as we are taught in the prophetical and evangelical Scriptures.

"To conclude; I pray that the Divine Majesty may keep, protect, and bless you for ever. My brotherly respects to all the most reverend doctors, and I pray for them from the LORD all blessing and prosperity."

Another letter is as follows: it is to M. Leger, still at Geneva.[1]

"Most honoured Sir,—

Correspondence of Leger and Cyril:

"I will not fail to apply myself with all my might to procure for you what you desire; and, perhaps, also something concerning the public good. I will endeavour also to find the MS. respecting the Council of Florence; and will not forget to do what is necessary in your other requests. The good news of the Christian Religion, which have reached us in this country from the States General, give me exceeding pleasure. I pray that the blessing and assistance of GOD may ever be present to that Government.

"THE PATRIARCH CYRIL."

It appears that Cyril, at this time, was desirous of cultivating the friendship of Laud, then at the head of the English Church. For, in an Arabic Pentateuch, now preserved in the Bodleian, there is this inscription, in Greek and Latin.[2] "Cyril, Œcume-

[1] Aymon, p. 120.

[2] Smith, Appendix, p. 65. A curious contrast might be drawn between Laud and Cyril: born within a year of each other; both raised to the highest dignity in their respective Churches;

of Cyril and Laud.

nical Patriarch, to the most blessed and most wise Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laut, gives the present book as a sign of brotherly love."—Further down, we read :—"The gift of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, a little before he unworthily perished, at the age of eighty, by the hands of the Turks."

Cyril's last letter.

The condition of the Church of Constantinople was now lamentable. Those who had been promoted by Cyril of Berœa were sworn enemies of Cyril: the agents of the Jesuits were still active; and the true sons of the Eastern Church seemed almost extinct.

We are inclined to believe the following the last letter which Cyril ever wrote.[1] It may indeed have been penned at Rhodes; but seems more natural if written in reply to some objections made by Leger, now at Geneva, to his Confession.

"Reverende Domine Legere, post salutem.

"Molestiæ Infidelitatis, quas ego patior hisce diebus plura scribere non permittunt.

"In Articulo de sancta scriptura, quæ Vestra Reverentia desiderat, ego quidem non serio dimisi: sed ob brevitatem, scimus non omnia saluti necessaria in sancta scriptura contineri; et cætera. In puncto quod sancta scriptura sit sui ipsius interpres absolute non potest dici, ne ruat donum prophetiæ: constat non prophetas egere prophetis, qui scripturam interpretentur.

"In Articulo de officio Christi, ubi habetur officio fungentem, debebam dicere, solum officio fungentem: ut habeo in mea Schædula, sed est lapsus manus mea: ergo ita scribatur: illa enim exclusiva veritatem monstrat mediatoris.

"In Articulo de libero arbitrio, ubi dixi vulneratum: intellexi de Renatorum arbitrio: qui, verum est, quod sine gratia operari non possint: sed sicut mutata est conditio Renati, à non Renati conditione; ita conditionem vel statum, vocabulorum sequitur diversitas: mortuum enim arbitrium in non Renatis: excitatum quidem, sed vulneratum, in Renatis, vel regeneratis: qui et si habent spiritum, egent tamen medico, cui dicant jugiter, medice adjuva nos: et aufer nostram infirmitatem.

both attempting (though with opposing views) to reform those Churches; both unsuccessful; both dying a violent death in old age.

[1] It is unpublished and undated; but comes last in those we received from Geneva.

"In Articulo de Baptismo sequutus sum dicentem. Joan. iii. 5. ἐὰν μὴ τις γενηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν, quamvis nobis constet Infantes fideliter esse sub fœdere: si quem enim non baptizatum mors præmaturavit, illum beatorum sorte non privamus, quia fidelium filii sunt.

"De Angelis, Sanctis, et imaginibus nullam mentionem feci, quia non confutationem sed confessionem scribere mihi proponebatur. Deinde plura scribere de iis quæ pertinent ad invocationem Angelorum et Sanctorum non luimus: illa enim exclusiva posita in Articulo de officio Mediatoris, *solus*, est sufficiens declaratrix veritatis: cum non habeamus ex scriptura vel præceptum vel exemplum, ut alios invocemus, præter unum Mediatorem qui est Jesus Christus. De imaginibus, nos illas propter simplicem historiam probamus, et ut sint ornamenta parietibus: aliàs non ædificant in Ecclesia: et cultus illarum est superstitiosus, ac redolet idolatria. O quàm pulchræ sunt imagines Romanensium, dum ornantur Mangonio et producuntur: quanto cum stupore cæcus admiratur populus, genuflectitur et adoratur. Deus misericors liberet suam hæreditatem ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης ταύτης.

"Pro fine, omnia bona precor tuæ Reverentiæ.

"Cyrillus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus."

An encyclical letter, which now lies before us, among those which we received from Geneva, and which seems to have been written at this time, advocates the same views, though it is too much corrupted to be printed.

His enemies, finding that the banishments of Cyril did not advance their own views, determined on his death. And remembering that they had always succeeded best with the Sultan in his absence from Constantinople, they conceived that they had now an excellent opportunity; as Amurath was about to march against Bagdad.[1] They accordingly made interest with Bairam Pasha, who was high in the Sultan's favour from his zeal in this very expedition; and between the Infidel Minister and the agents of the Jesuits the ruin of Cyril was concerted. A D. 1638. Bairam Pasha against Cyril.

[1] Smith, p. 59, seq.

It happened that while Amurath was on his march, the Cossacks seized Azof; and Bairam, together with another of Cyril's enemies, Hussain Pasha, informed the Sultan that that enterprise had been favoured, if not instigated by Cyril; and that it was most unwise policy to leave so active a man in Constantinople. Amurath, carried away by anger, instantly signed Cyril's death-warrant, and dispatched it to Constantinople. The courier arrived at Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of June[1]; and Musa Pasha, the governor of the city, prepared to carry them into execution. But, fearing that the execution of Cyril in the heart of Constantinople might raise a tumult, the janissaries whom he dispatched were instructed to say, that they were sent to carry the Patriarch on board ship, it being the Sultan's pleasure that he should be sent into exile. Cyril at once submitted; he went that evening on board a boat, expecting to be conveyed to S. Stephano, a small town near Constantinople, where a vessel was said to be waiting for him. But no sooner were they out of sight of land, than, perceiving what their real intention was, he knelt down, and prayed earnestly. When he had ceased, after some abuse and a few blows, they put the bowstring about his neck, and having done their work, threw his body into the sea. It was picked up by some fishermen, and returned to his friends, by whom it was buried decently. But the malice of his enemies did not end with his life: they complained to the governor of the city, by whose orders the corpse was disinterred, and again thrown into the sea. Washed on shore by the billows, it was buried in one of the islands in the bay of Nicomedia.

The Sultan signs his death-warrant.

Death-warrant reaches Constantinople, June 27.

He is forced on board a boat;

and is strangled.

Thus, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his Patriarchate, fell Cyril Lucar: a man, whose character can hardly be given, without the risk of doing injustice to his own piety, or speaking lightly of the pernicious doctrines which he taught. It is necessary to keep in mind the vast difference between the propagation of heresy, and the being an heretic, if we would judge of him rightly. The greater part of doctrines he held had never been censured by his own Church; those who opposed

Character of Cyril Lucar.

[1] The date is known from a note of Pococke's at the end of his Edition of Abu'lpharaj: he gives, indeed, Jan. 27, 1638; but informed Smith that it was a misprint for June.

them, opposed them for their own interested ends, and, in combating heresy were guilty of schism. Those who held them were Cyril's superiors in learning, his friends, his protectors, his patrons; those who rejected them, his inferiors in every way, his own enemies, and in union with the Infidels. Had the Council of Bethlehem been held previously, Cyril would never probably have fallen into the snares laid for him; or, if he had, must have been more severely judged. It is worthy of remark, that this Council, while condemning his errors, spoke of ten thousand witnesses to his well known piety. Indeed his humility and patience are conspicuous through the whole tenor of his letters.

Therefore, while we utterly reject the Protestant idea that he died as a Saint and a Martyr, we are nearly as far from entertaining that of Rome, that he perished as a notorious and obstinate heretic, whose body sea and land equally refused to receive. Considering what he did and what he suffered, the strength of his enemies, the weakness of his friends, the power of his early associations, the unkindness and unfairness of Rome, the bitterness of his persecutors, his own meekness, and patience, and great humility, and using towards him that charity of judgment which we should ourselves desire, we are justified in believing, that, notwithstanding his many errors,—

After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.

The executioners having carried Cyril's clothes to the market in Constantinople for the purpose of disposing of them, there was an universal burst of grief among the Christians: Cyril of Berœa was openly called villain, murderer, and Pilate, and a body of petitioners entered his house, demanding the corpse. Failing in this application, they applied to the Mahometan authorities; but, of course, to as little purpose.[1]

[1] This we learn from a letter of Nathaniel Conopius, Cyril's Protosyncellus, written to Leger, July 4, 1638, a week after the Patriarch's murder. Hotting. Append. Dissert. 8. Claude's "Catholic Doctrine," p. 207 (English translation).

SECTION XII.

FACILIDAS, EMPEROR.

Facilidas, Emperor.

IMMEDIATELY on the accession of Facilidas, that monarch wrote to the Patriarch, informing him that, as the Coptic faith was now re-established in Abyssinia, he must at once leave the kingdom; and that an Abuna was actually on his way from Cairo, to undertake the government of the Church. In fact, an impostor did appear, who exercised various pontifical functions, before he was discovered. The brave Sela Christos was summoned to Court, and received kindly by his nephew: but, constantly refusing to abjure the Roman faith, was first banished into an unwholesome district, and then hanged.

The Patriarch banished.

In March, 1633, the Patriarch, and the rest of the Fathers, were ordered to proceed at once to Fremona. They did so: but determined, if they could, not to give up their position without a struggle. Jerome Lobo was sent, first to the Viceroy of India, and then to Spain, to solicit assistance. The Fathers then endeavoured to collect ammunition at Fremona: it was seized by Facilidas, who requested them—but in very gentle terms—to go to Masuah. Instead of complying, they took refuge with one John then in rebellion against the Emperor, by whom they were sold to the Turks: the Patriarch made a shift, some time after, with some of the company, to ransom himself: but the Bishop of Nicæa, (translated to that titular see from Hierapolis) and some others who remained, though pardoned by the Emperor, were put to death by the populace.

Ethiopia returns to heresy.

A treaty was then concluded by Facilidas with the Turks for the prevention of the passage of any missionaries from the West; and of some Capuchins, who afterwards endeavoured to enter the kingdom, nine fell a sacrifice to their zeal. From this time forth, we are little concerned with Ethiopia.[1]

[1] Bruce iii. 426—446. Geddes, 420—465.

SECTION XIII.

COUNCILS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND JASSY.

Councils of Constantinople and Jassy.

On the death of Cyril Lucar, Cyril of Beræa ascended, for a third time, the Œcumenical Throne.[1] There can be no doubt that the two characteristics of this wretched man were ambition and enmity to Cyril Lucar: his proceedings are in no sense indices of the feelings of the Eastern Church, since he was an apostate from her Communion, and owed his elevation to Latin influence.

As soon as it was possible after his elevation, and within three months after the death of his predecessor, he assembled a Council at Constantinople, for the purpose of anathematising his memory.[2]

Council of Constantinople, Sept. 24, 1638.

The acts of this Synod, which are dated September 24, 1638, commence by a declaration that the care of the flocks entrusted to their charge renders it the duty of Christian Bishops to repress, to the utmost of their power, all heresy; that this is more especially the case when false doctrine is involved in such subtilty of words as the more easily to delude the ignorant; that evil under the cloak of good, Satan in the garb of an angel of light, are the most dangerous enemies of all: that Cyril Lucar, lately an intruder into the Throne of Constantinople, and abounding with the poison of the deadliest heresy, had not only himself attacked the Catholic Faith, but had publicly asserted that his sentiments were those of the Holy Eastern Church. "We, therefore," the document continues,

[1] Le Quien, i. 335.

[2] We quote from the regest of this Synod, as given in the Council of Bethlehem. Hardouin xi. 223. Aymon's notes (pp. 319—335) are a singular compound of falsehood and ferocity. After applying to the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople such terms as "une calumnie des plus atroces que les plus impudens menteurs, et les plus effrontez de tous les hommes puissent jamais inventer," he himself has omitted more than half of each article, and entirely passed over several entire articles. Allatius himself could not be more flagitious.

"whom the Divine Providence has assembled in this royal city, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, as those who must hereafter give account of their deeds, do (on the impulse of necessity, and after the example and decrees of the Holy Fathers, who were filled with the HOLY GHOST; who, when there was a call, acted nobly in their Synods,) decree that Cyril Lucar shall be publicly denounced, and delivered over to an anathema; and moreover, (lest the Faith should be hindered by those who petulantly murmur at our proceedings,) that all and singular who receive as pious his vain dogmas, shall be bound with the same anathema.

Cyril is anathematized.

"To Cyril, surnamed Lucar, who has falsely asserted, in the superscription of his wicked Articles, that the whole Eastern Church of CHRIST is of the same belief as Calvin, Anathema."

This is, perhaps, a fair deduction, though not quite fairly stated. It is certainly true, that Cyril had no right to dignify his confession with the title of that of the Eastern Church; especially when, in several particulars, it treated of subjects in which she had come to no synodical conclusion.

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Holy Church of JESUS CHRIST can lie: (they then quote his second and twelfth Articles) anathema. From these absurdities, or rather downright madness, it follows either that JESUS, the GOD-MAN, the very Truth, can lie, or that He is not with His Church for ever, as He promised: it follows also that the HOLY SPIRIT does not speak by the Church, and that the gates of hell—the heresies of wicked men—can prevail against it. Lastly, that any one may rightly doubt, whether the Holy Gospel, which we have in common use, as handed down by the Church be true, and not another Gospel."

This anathema seems perfectly fair. We cannot say so of the next.

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the good GOD has chosen some to glory before the foundation of the world, and predestinated them without works, and has reprobated others without cause before the world was, and that the works of none are sufficient to demand a reward before the tribunal of CHRIST,

as he saith expressly in his third and thirteenth articles: (since it thence follows, either that GOD is the Author of evil, and unjust, or that none who are involved in the Fall of Adam can be saved: also that the Gospels are false, when they say, 'I was an hungered, and ye gave Me meat:' and again, 'Come ye, Blessed of My FATHER,' &c.: lastly, that Paul the Mouth of CHRIST, and James the LORD's Brother, the one saying that not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law were just, —the other, that faith without works is dead, were deceived:)— Anathema."

Now, as we have before seen, Cyril never asserted absolute Predestination, as this article declares that he did. The latter part of the anathema, if not itself unsound, is stated in an extremely unsafe manner.

"To Cyril teaching in his eighth article obscurely indeed and craftily, and believing that the Saints are not our Mediators and Intercessors with GOD: (they quote the passage) as subverting many oracles of the HOLY GHOST:—Anathema. For GOD saith, 'I will protect this city for the sake of David My Servant.' And the Holy Children in the furnace, 'give us not utterly over for the sake of Abraham Thy Beloved, and Isaac Thy Servant, and Israel Thy Saint.' And Peter saith, 'Moreover I will endeavour, after my decease, that ye may be able to have these things continually in remembrance.' But how could he endeavour after his decease, except by interceding and praying to GOD?" They conclude by quoting the second Council of Nicæa.

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes that man is not endued with free-will, as is clear from his fourteenth Article; but that every man has the power of sinning, but not the power of doing good; as the destroyer of the Gospels and Prophets, (where it is written, 'If ye choose and will hear Me:' 'Draw near to Him, and be enlightened;' 'He that *will* come after Me:' 'Come unto Me all:'— add also the frequent exhortations to do good:) Anathema."

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes that there are not seven Sacraments,"—they name them,—"according to the disposition of CHRIST, the tradition of the Apostles, and the customs of

the Church, but falsely asserting, that only two were by CHRIST in His Gospel handed down to us, that is to say, Baptism and the Eucharist, as may be seen in his fifteenth Article;—Anathema."

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Bread offered at the Altar, and also the Wine, is not changed, by the Blessing of the Priest, and Descent of the HOLY GHOST, into the Real Body and Blood of CHRIST; (they quote his seventeenth Article;)—Anathema." They support this by S. John vii. 53, 56. S. Matthew xxvi. 27, 28. 1 Corinthians xii. 23, 45: and by the Canons of the seventh Œcumenical Synod.

"To Cyril, who teaches and believes, though secretly, in his eighteenth Article, that those who have fallen asleep in piety and penitence, are not, after death, assisted by the alms of their relations, and the prayers of the Church, as the denier of the happy rest of the just, the absolute perdition of the wicked, and the future judgment and retribution in the last and terrible day; which is most opposite to the Holy Scripture, and the teaching of all Divines;—Anathema."

"To Cyril a new Iconoclast, and the worst of all; Anathema." The two succeeding anathemas are merely an amplification of the last: and the two last a recapitulation and enforcement of the whole.

Whatever may be thought of many of these anathemas, and of the unfair spirit which all exhibit to Cyril, this is, doubtless, a very important Council: and certainly may be called a general Synod of the Greek Church, receiving as it does, additional authority from its subsequent confirmation by the Council of Jerusalem.

It is signed by three Patriarchs: Cyril of Constantinople; Metrophanes of Alexandria; Theophanes of Jerusalem. The Church of Antioch it would seem, was at this time in some confusion, from the Latinising tendencies of Euthymius II. which may be the reason that he did not subscribe to the above anathemas. Joasaph, Patriarch of Moscow, was much averse from all contentions: and probably was glad to remain quiet.

In addition, it is signed by twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops, three of whom were afterwards Patriarchs of Constan-

tinople: namely, Parthenius the elder, then of Adrianople; Parthenius the younger, then of Joannine; Joannicius of Heraclea: two were Patriarchs of Alexandria; namely, Joannicius of Berœa and Joachim of Cos. And lastly, it is subscribed by twenty-one dignitaries of the great church of Constantinople; of whom one, Nicholas Clarontzanes, was afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria. Thus then, these anathemas are pronounced by nine, who either then, or afterwards, were Patriarchs: a greater number, probably than ever subscribed to any other Synod.

Calvinistic calumnies against this Council.

It is necessary to notice this fact, because the Calvinists, irritated at the failure of the hopes which they had conceived from Cyril Lucar, are loud in their assertions that this Council is by no means an exponent of the mind of the Greek Church, and furious in their outcry against the principal Prelates who composed it. It is true, that we cannot think highly of many of them; it is also true, that the testimony of Cyril of Berœa goes for nothing, because he was notorious for his Latinising principles: but the other Bishops and Ecclesiastics are unexceptionable testimonies against Calvinism, the rather, that one of them, Parthenius, was suspected of it.

Cyril of Berœa put to death.

Shortly after the conclusion of this Synod, the Sultan returned in great triumph to Constantinople;[1] and Cyril Contari, being accused of several enormous crimes, was banished by him into Barbary, and there, says Philip of Cyprus, perished, as his crimes deserved, by a cruel death. Others say that he was strangled, on the earnest request of the friends of Cyril Lucar. Parthenius, Metropolitan of Adrianople, and known by the name of the elder, was elected to the Œcumenical Throne.

A.D. 1639.

Russian Church.

In the meantime, the Confession of Cyril Lucar had made no small noise in Russia.[2] The Patriarch, Joasaph I., though a good man, was deficient in energy; but Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kieff, and one of the greatest glories of the Russian Church, was busily engaged in promoting the Oriental Faith, not less by his holy life than by his great learning. He composed, to counteract the spread of Calvinism, a Catechism, generally known by the name of the Orthodox Confession of Faith: it was written partly by himself, partly by Isaiah Troph-

Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila.

[1] Le Quien, i. 335.

[2] Mouravieff, p. 188.

imovich, an Archimandrite of eminence, and approved by a Synod of Russian Bishops summoned at Kieff. It is still (corrected, as we shall afterwards see,) held in great reputation, though acknowledged not to be free from a tinge of Latinism.

Council of Constantinople.

In the year 1641 Parthenius summoned a synod at Constantinople, at which eight Prelates and four dignitaries of the great church were present, and in this assembly the word μετουσίωσις, Transubstantiation, is said to have been authorised. It is also said that a Priest, named Corydonius[1] protested against its adoption, as a term unknown to the Fathers, and the offspring of Latin scholasticism.[2]

A.D. 1642.

In the next year, a more important synod was held at Jassy, in Moldavia, by the exertions of John, hospodar of that country.[3] The acts of this Council are incorporated with, and authenticated by, those of the Council of Bethlehem: though it is then, and generally, named the Synod of Constantinople, either from a confusion with that of the preceding year, or because it was looked on as merely a continuation of that, or because the name of Constantinople was more familiar to the Oriental Church than that of Jassy, and the Œcumenical Patriarch presided.

Council of Jassy.

Its chapters.

The decrees of this Synod are contained in seventeen Chapters: and the condemnation of Cyril Lucar is more gently expressed than it had been in the first Synod of Constantinople. Still, the strictures are not altogether fair; for example, in the first he is condemned for asserting that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, whereas his express terms are, from the Father by the Son. All the chapters of Cyril, (except the seventh, on the Incarnation.) are condemned, and those who obstinately defend them are delivered over to an anathema: but no stigma is thrown on his own memory: nor is any reference made to either the first or second Synods of Constantinople. The decrees are signed by Parthenius, Œcumenical Patriarch: PeterMogilas, Archbishop of Kieff, Joannicius of Heraclea, afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople: twenty other Prelates, of whom four were Russians: and twenty

[1] Aymon, p. 317.

[2] This stands on the French Ambassador, de Nointel's word, as given in the *Perpetuité*, iii. 681.

[3] Mouravieff, p. 189. Hardouin. xi. 171. seq. Le Quien, i. 336.

dignitaries of the great church, of whom the most remarkable is that Chrysoculus, to whose account of the troubles excited by the Jesuits we have been so largely indebted. But it would appear that only a small number of these Prelates were actually present at Jassy: the rest contented themselves with signing the synodal letter. Parthenius had received the Catechism of Mogilas, which had been forwarded for his approbation: he intrusted it to the correction of Meletius Striga, (also called Syriga,) his exarch in Russia, and the work, so revised, was formally approved and became a document of authority in the Eastern Church.

SECTION XIV.

SUCCESSIONS AT ALEXANDRIA.

But before the synod of Jassy, Metrophanes Critopulus had departed this life. He was succeeded by that Nicholas Claron-tzanes[1] whom we have already mentioned. He assumed, on his accession, the title of Nicephorus. He held the Throne of S. Mark for four years only: and was succeeded by Joannicius, who had subscribed, then holding the See of Beræa, to the First Synod of Constantinople. On the publication of the Orthodox Confession, he approved and authenticated it by his subscription. For the rest, his time was much occupied by disputes with the Monks of Mount Sinai.[2] His successor was Joachim, who had subscribed in the same synod of Constantinople as Bishop of Cos: he was ordained by Parthenius IV. of Constantinople, surnamed Mogilalus, and was, like him,[3] a man of bad character: and on his death or ejection, Paisius[4] was raised to the Chair of S. Mark.

Nicephorus, Patr. LXXXV. A.D. 1639. A.M. 1355.

Joannicius, Patr. LXXXVI. A.D. 1643. A.M. 1359.

Joachim, Patr. LXXXVII. A.D. 1665. A.M. 1381.

Paisius, Patr LXXXVIII. Before A.D. 1672. A.M. 1398.

[1] Le Quien, ii. 509.

[2] Le Quien, ii. 510.

[3] Dositheus, de Patr. Hieros. xi. 11. Le Quien, ii. 511.

[4] Le Quien, u. s. Ricaut. 25.

SECTION XV.

COUNCIL OF BETHLEHEM.

It might seem that the Calvinism which had infested the Greek Church had been thoroughly crushed in the Councils of Constantinople and Jassy; but the fact was far otherwise. Thirty years only had elapsed since the death of Cyril Lucar: many of those who had been personally acquainted with him still survived, and a comparison between his personal holiness, and the avaricious and profligate lives of his successors, the notoriously Latinising tendency of some, and the worldliness of all, could not but raise considerable prejudice in favour of his belief. Add to which that the state of the Church of Constantinople had been such as to preclude anything like settled belief: in fifteen years, there had been fourteen occupiers or reoccupiers of the Œcumenical Throne: and these had borne the deadliest enmity to those whom they removed, or by whom themselves were supplanted. It was evident that some steps must be taken to give authority to the decisions of Constantinople and Jassy.

Efforts of the Calvinists.

The first who seems to have been alive to the danger, and to have taken steps for averting it, was Hilaron Tzigalas, Archbishop of Nicosia, and one of the most learned Oriental Prelates of his age.[1] He was, at the same time, much opposed to Latinism: and is said to have assisted Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the composition of his work on the Primacy of the Pope. In the year 1668, he convened a Synod of his Suffragans and the clergy, in which the Calvinistic heresy was exposed and anathematized. The Acts were probably signed by the three Bishops of Pafo, Cyti, and Cerinia.

Council of Cyprus, 1668.

Four years after this time, the celebrated Dositheus was raised to the Patriarchal Throne of Jerusalem, by the resignation of Nectarius. He was, as all the most learned Greeks of his time, a Cretan: and had been Archbishop of Cæsarea. On his

Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem:

[1] Ricaut. p. 89. Le Quien, ii. 1056. Defense de la Perpetuité xii. 85. In this we do not understand what Hilarini means when he calls himself Dei et *Sanctæ Sedis Œcumenicæ Cyprinæ* Isepiscopus.

accession, he diligently employed himself in completing a new church at Bethlehem, which his predecessor had begun: and conceived that this would be a favourable opportunity of summoning a General Council of the Eastern Church. Happening to be called to Constantinople, and to be introduced to M. de Nointel, the French ambassador, he mentioned to him the idea which had struck him; and the latter, who unlike his predecessors, seems to have been a true friend to the Oriental Church, suggested that it would be a favourable opportunity to weed it of its Calvinism. The thought pleased Dositheus, and on mentioning the scheme to Dionysius, then Œcumenical Patriarch, the latter prepared an encyclical letter, to be signed by those who should not be able to attend the Council. This, after having been signed by himself and those Prelates who were present in the Imperial City, was afterwards sent to others for their approval and subscription. It is dated January, 1672, which was two months previous to the actual meeting of the Synod of Bethlehem.

rebuilds the Church at Bethlehem.

It begins with a statement of the difficulties which had been raised,[1] and of the duty of the Bishops and Pastors of CHRIST's Flock, to satisfy them as far as possible. The Seven Sacraments are, in the first place, asserted and described. The language on the Holy Eucharist is remarkable, and seems purely Oriental: free on the one hand, from Roman Scholasticism; on the other, from Calvinian profanity.

Circular of Dionysius.

"With respect to the tremendous sacrament of the Eucharist, we believe and confess unwaveringly, that the Living Body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST is invisibly present, with a Real Presence in the Mystery. For when the Celebrant, after the LORD's Words, saith, 'Make this Bread the Precious Body of Thy CHRIST,' &c. then, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, in a manner beyond nature and ineffable, the Bread is really, and truly, and properly changed[2] into the Very Body of our Saviour CHRIST, and the Wine into His Life-giving Blood." Further on it declares: "It,"—the Holy Eucharist,—"is offered up as a Sacrifice for all Christians, both quick and dead."

The Holy Eucharist.

[1] Hardouin, xi. 274.

[2] Changed, μεταποιεῖται not transubstantiated, μετουσιοῦται.

Holy Baptism.

The doctrine of Baptism is then clearly defined: the necessity of Infant Baptism asserted: final perseverance denied: the necessity of Episcopacy to a Church set forth: the superiority of Virginity to Matrimony proved: the infallibility of the Catholic Church maintained; the invocation of Saints, and worship of Images, justified; the perpetual use and necessity of fasting declared.

Holy Scripture.

With respect to the Apocrypha, the encyclical letter differs, as we shall see, from the Council of Bethlehem. The former speaks of it in almost the same terms as the Articles of our own Church: the latter adds it to the Canon of Scripture. This letter is signed by Dionysius, Patriarch, Paisius, Dionysius, and Methodius, Ex-Patriarchs of Constantinople: Paisius of Alexandria: and forty-one other Metropolitans and Bishops. So that its authority, as a document, is vastly superior, in points where they differ, to that of the more celebrated Council of Bethlehem, or, as it is more commonly called, of Jerusalem.

Council meets at Bethlehem:

Dositheus, on his return to his own See, lost no time in opening the Council. He was bent on two points: the first, to prove that the Oriental Church was not Calvinistic, and this led him rather to overstep her definitions, and to lay himself open to a charge of Latinism; and to this, his friendship for M. de Nointel still further engaged him: the second, to defend the memory of Cyril Lucar, for whom, perhaps as being his countryman, he seems to have entertained a great veneration. And this imparts a character of inconsistency to some part of the proceedings of the Synod. Still, on the whole, its spirit and decrees are highly honourable to the learning and piety of the assembled fathers: and the rage with which it is mentioned by Calvinian writers only proves their own chagrin at its conclusions.

The Proeme[1] sets forth the duty of the Pastors of Christ's Flock to keep silence no longer when the Faith is at stake: and proceeds to state that a report was current in the West, to the effect that the Holy Eastern Church held and propagated the same sentiments with the Calvinists; that this was not only said by word of mouth, but actually published: that M. Claude of Charenton was one of its busiest propagators: that the Council,

[1] Hardouin, xi. 179. Aymon, 259.

assembled for the dedication of the new church at Bethlehem, thought fit to state the true doctrine of the Eastern Church, to the end that the minds of the wavering might be settled, and the calumnies of the Calvinists exposed.

They then proceed to state the connexion which had, at different times subsisted between the Protestant Communities and the Eastern Church. That, fifty years after Luther, Martin Crusius, and other learned Lutherans, wrote to Jeremiah, then Œcumenical Patriarch, to learn the sentiments of the Oriental Church on the points in dispute between themselves and Rome: that Jeremiah had rejected their innovations, and written against them. That others, especially Nathanael, a Priest of Constantinople, and Gabriel Severus, Greek Archbishop of Venice, had clearly explained, on these matters, the doctrine of the Church; that the Calvinists, in opposition to these authorities, brought forward the confession of Cyril Lucar: that, however, this confession was not Cyril's, but a forgery. For this assertion, they give five proofs.[1]

it defends Cyril from a charge of heresy,

"1. The Eastern Church never knew Cyril to be such a person as the adversaries say, nor was acquainted with the articles as his composition.

"2. If it be granted that they are his, he must have published them secretly, without the knowledge of any of the Easterns, much less of the Catholic Church.

"3. Cyril's Confession is not the confession of the Eastern Church.

"4. One of two things is impossible; either that the Easterns were acquainted with this Confession, or that, if they knew it, they could be Christians.

"5. That the Easterns have always had such an aversion to these articles, that Cyril has been often known to teach with an oath, and in the Church, contrary to them; and only because he would not write against them, he was anathematized and excommunicated in two very crowded synods."

They go on to prove these assertions thus:

"That Cyril was never known in the Eastern Church as a Calvinist, is evident to every one who has no evil intention; for

[1] The translation is Dr. Beaven's.

having been Pope of Alexandria after Meletius, and having been translated to the Throne of Constantinople (at a time when he was sojourning there,) by the joint consent of the Clergy of Constantinople, neither in Synod nor in church, nor in the house of any orthodox person, and, in short, neither in public nor in private did he say or teach any one of those things which the adversaries say that he favoured. And if the adversaries assert that Cyril said anything of the sort to any individual or to several, they know not what they say; for if they wish to bear witness, they ought not to derive their testimonies from themselves,—because they lie with us under the charge of slander and of not knowing Cyril, and consequently have no credit,—but from those who knew Cyril and his manner of life, of whom there are as many as ten thousand now living. But these people, who never knew him, vehemently affirm that he was a partaker of their heresy, whilst those who ministered to him in the business of many years, and knew every thing relating to him, assert that he was nothing of the sort . . . . .

"Secondly, because there appears no unsuspected writing of his, nor any written with his own hand, confessing any such thing as these heterodox people testify.

"Thirdly, because we have not only ten thousand witnesses who attest the well-known piety of Cyril, and that they never heard anything heretical from him, but also a book of the largest size written with Cyril's own hand, in which appear his sermons delivered at Constantinople on each Sunday and Festival, exhibiting quite the contrary to these forged articles; out of which we will set forth some extracts in the present document for the perfect confirmation of our assertions."

though unsuccessfully.

Now, these assertions prove two things: Firstly, the good feeling of the Council of Jerusalem towards one who lay under such a load of calumny as Cyril: secondly, the high reputation which that Patriarch had left behind him for piety and holiness. But they cannot for a moment lead us to doubt of the authenticity of Cyril's confession: for which, it must be remembered, we have more proofs, in his private letters, than the Fathers of this Council could possibly have known.

They then proceed with their endeavour to shew that Cyril's sermons were at variance with his confession.

On the first chapter, where he affirms that the HOLY GHOST proceeds from the FATHER *by* the SON, they produce two extracts, one from a Homily on Christmas Day, the other on Pentecost: in the one of which he says that the HOLY GHOST proceeds from the FATHER alone: in the other that He proceeds from the FATHER, and is sent by the SON; and this is nearly identical with his Confession.

Against the second chapter, on the superior authority of Scripture to the Church, they seem to have found a difficulty in bringing forward anything satisfactory from the other writings of Cyril: the two extracts they give are nothing to the purpose. And the same thing may be said with regard to their other attempts, with one exception.

Against the seventeenth chapter, where Cyril expressly denies Transubstantiation, they bring forward an extract from a sermon which he delivered on the Miracle of the Five Loaves.

"The LORD brake bread three times. Firstly, in the Mystical Supper, where He ordained that we should receive the Infinite Virtue of the Divinity, in the Transubstantiation of the Bread."

This is a remarkable passage: but it is impossible to believe that it ever proceeded from the pen of Cyril. For, firstly, we have seen by many proofs that he did not believe in the doctrine: secondly, we know enough of him to be sure that, with all his faults, he never was a hypocrite; thirdly, had he been so, it must have been with some hope of advantage: fourthly, on the contrary, the use of the word at all would have rendered him suspected by his two patrons, the English and Dutch ambassadors, and the single use of it would not have pacified the Romanists: fifthly, that in the extract, it does not seem to make very good sense: and may fairly be supposed to have been altered, either by mistake, or by some fraudulent transcriber from μορφῇ, the form, or, μετακλάσει the breaking: either of which words would far better suit the context.

The Fathers next proceed to explain the anathemas pronounced against Cyril by the Council of Constantinople: they were not fulminated, they say, because Cyril was the author of the Confession: but because knowing that it was published in his name, he did not suppress or anathematize it. But the reader

has only to cast his eyes back to the Acts of that Council, to be convinced that it *did* anathematize him as the author of that Confession. However, this[1] seems to be the belief of the Eastern Church to the present day: that the Confession was not Cyril's: but that he was anathematized for not sufficiently opposing the doctrines which it contained.

After this ineffectual attempt to exculpate Cyril, the Fathers of Bethlehem proceed much more satisfactorily. "Whosesoever was the Confession," they say, "it never was that of the Greek Church, inasmuch as she never held its doctrines; and could in no sense be implicated in it. She that has stood firm in the midst of persecutions and martyrdoms, would never have believed one thing in the heart, and confessed another with the mouth." Cyril, they affirm, denied his so-called chapters with an oath; and was justly condemned, nevertheless, because he did not more resolutely oppose them. If the Oriental Church had ever held these doctrines, it would have apostatized from the Faith: but it never did apostatize: therefore it never could have held these doctrines. Again, its anathemas, pronounced on Orthodoxy Sunday, (*i.e.* the commemoration of the Second Council of Nicæa and the other Councils,) amply proves the same thing.

This appears to be the substance of the four first chapters of the Acts of this Council. The Fathers then proceed to repeat and to authenticate the Synods of Constantinople and Jassy: and conclude with a confession of Faith, founded on that of Peter Mogila, though in many respects differing from it.

Its Articles. Art I. On the Trinity: and the Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER alone.

II. On the Authority of the Church to interpret Scripture.

III. Against the Doctrine of Irrespective Predestination.

IV. Against those, who call GOD the Author of Evil.

V. On the same subject: and the Divine Providence in turning evil into good.

VI. On original sin.

VII. On the Incarnation and Passion of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

VIII. That there is but One Mediator, JESUS CHRIST; never-

[1] See Mouravieff, p. 189.

theless that the Church may and ought to have recourse to the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and All Saints.

IX. That Faith working by Love, that is, by the fulfilment of the commandments, justifies.

X. That there is a visible Catholic Church: that episcopal government is necessary to it; that without this there can be neither Church nor Christian: that the Power of Episcopacy is received by Succession; that the Episcopate is entirely different from, and superior to, the Priesthood.

XI. Of those members of the Church who live in sin.

XII. Of the teaching of the Holy Ghost by the Fathers, and, more especially, by Œcumenical Councils.

XIII. Of good works, co-operating with faith to justification.

XIV. Of freewill, in opposition to Calvinians.

XV. That there are seven Sacraments.

XVI. Of the necessity of regeneration in Baptism, and the Eternal Damnation of those who receive it not.

XVII. Of the Holy Eucharist. Here transubstantiation is asserted in the strongest terms: and consubstantiation condemned: yet it may be fairly asserted that the Greek Church has not yet decided this question. Of the Synods of Constantinople and Jassy, the one affirms it, the other leaves it undecided: and so again, with the Synod of Bethlehem, and the encyclical letter of Dionysius. It is allowed[1] on all hands that the word is new in Greek Theology: and probably the first instance of its use is to be found in a Homily of Gennadius,[2] the first Patriarch of Constantinople, after the capture of that city by the Turks, and which was written, therefore, about A.D. 1460.

XVIII. Of the state of the departed. In this article there seems to be a plain discrepancy with the Faith of the Eastern Church, and a decided tendency to Latinism: the doctrine of Purgatory being clearly admitted.

The Fathers then proceed to answer Cyril's four questions. The first in the negative: to which the practice of the present Greek Church is opposed: the second, very truly, in the nega-

[1] Meletius Syriga, Confut. Conf. Cyril Lucar, quoted by Simon, Creance, p. 195.

[2] Ibid. p. 193.

tive; in the third, as to the Canon of Scripture, they include the books of the Apocrypha. Herein they are opposed to the encyclical letter of Dionysius, which includes only the books named by the Council of Laodicæa: and they are guilty of gross irreverence to S. Cyril, asserting that he named them Apocryphal foolishly, ignorantly, or perhaps maliciously. To the fourth, as to images, they reply as the second Council of Nicæa.

They conclude by a defence of Monachism and an enunciation of certain writers who, on the points in controversy, fairly stated the Belief of the Eastern Church: and among these Coressi, of whom Cyril Lucar speaks so harshly, holds a distinguished place.

The Acts are signed by Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem: Nectarius, Ex-Patriarch, and seven other Prelates, one of whom had also a proxy: also by sixty-one other Ecclesiastics, of whom one or two were Russians. Ten signed in Arabic: the rest in Greek. The date is the 20th of March, 1672: and the Acts were authenticated by M. de Nointel, a year and a half later.

Termination of the Controversy.

This Council, notwithstanding the outcry raised against it by the Calvinists, decided the controversy. We have perhaps digressed too much from our Alexandrian History: but as the principal propagator of the new belief was a Patriarch of Alexandria, and as his successors were much concerned in the whole progress of the dispute, we thought it best to give a succinct, but it is trusted a fair, account of its rise, progress, and final decision.

SECTION XVI.

JACOBITE SUCCESSIONS.

Mark VI. Patr. ci. A.D. 1645. *Matthew IV. Patr. cii.* A.D. 1660.

Matthew of Alexandria was succeeded by Mark,[1] a priest of the monastery of S. Antony: and he, again, by another Matthew, who wrote on the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist.[2]

[1] Wansleb. Le Quien, ii. 510. Sollerius, p. 104*.

[2] Perpetuité de la foy, ii. 373.

To Matthew IV. succeeded John El Touki,[1] who is distinguished by the longest Episcopate of any that ever held, or pretended to, the Chair of S. Mark, except S. Athanasius. He re-introduced the office of the consecration of Chrism, now intermitted for two hundred years.[2] It had been a custom among the Egyptians that male children should be baptized on the fortieth, female on the eighth day. John ordained, under pain of an anathema, that Baptism should not be deferred beyond the eighth day. This regulation, however, was only carried into effect in Cairo.[3] Gabriel Eva, a Maronite, visited this Patriarch by order of Pope Clement XI., as he was understood to entertain sentiments favourable to the Roman Church.[4] His reply was, that he should be thankful to embrace the Communion of S. Peter, but that death would be the certain penalty of any Coptic Patriarch who should do so. In his time, another unsuccessful attempt was made to bring the Abyssinians to the Roman Faith. Three embassies were sent from France to that country: the last of which was terminated by the assassination of Du Roule, the ambassador.

John XVI. Patr. cviii. A.D. 1675.

John departed this life on the 4th of June,[5] 1718: and was succeeded on the 20th of August, by Peter El Siouty, that is, of Lycopolis. He immediately after his accession, deposed Abdel Messiah, Metropolitan of the East:[6] but afterwards elevated him to the See of Axum.

Peter V. Patr. civ. A.D. 1718.

To him succeeded John El Mellanoy: of whom we know nothing further than that he had been Abbat of S. Paul near the Red Sea.[7]

John XVII. Patr. cv. A.D. 1727.

Mark next filled the Jacobite Throne.

Mark VII. Patr. cvi.

His successor was Peter, the sixth of that name, who furnished Bruce with letters of recommendation to the Abuna of Axum.

Peter VI. Patr. cvii.

[1] Wansleb. p. 330. Sollerius, p. 104*. Renaudot, p. 612. Le Quien, ii. 512.

[2] See Bernati's account to Sollerius, p. 104*.

[3] Asseman. Cod. Lit. ii. p. 150. Note 1.

[4] Asseman. Præf. Tom. i. B. O. No. vii.

[5] There is a MS. account of his death, and of Peter's election, in the Vatican Library. Asseman, B. O. iii. 1. p. 641. With John XVI, the Catalogues of Wansleb, Sollerius, and Renaudot end.

[6] Le Quien, ii. 660.

[7] With this Prelate Le Quien's Catalogue ends. For the following names we are indebted to our own Catalogue from Alexandria. The Episcopates of these Patriarchs must have been very long.

Mark VIII Patr. 60th

He was followed by another Mark: under whom the French invasion of Egypt took place.

Peter VII. Patr. 61st

His successor was Peter, the present Coptic Patriarch. We have mentioned in our Introduction the comparatively flourishing state of this Communion: its head is said to entertain the most unbounded confidence in the English Church.

SECTION XVII.

CATHOLIC SUCCESSIONS.

We have now little more to say of the History of the Catholic Church of Alexandria. In the time of Paulus, it was so much reduced, that,[1] instead of the hundred Bishops who once obeyed the Throne of S. Mark, four only were left, who were dignified with the title of metropolitans. These were,—Ethiopia—of course an honorary title;—Memphis;—Damietta;—and Rosetta: and even these four Sees have, since that period, ceased to exist.

Parthenius I. Patr. LXXXIX. After A.D. 1668. A.M. 5394

Paulus survived the Council of Jerusalem more than six years; and was succeeded by Parthenius,[2] Bishop of Nazareth, who had, in that capacity, subscribed the decrees of that synod. His real name was Prochorus; and he perished in the great earthquake at Smyrna, in 1689.

Gerasimus II. Patr. XC. A.D. 1689. A.M. 5405

To him succeeded Gerasimus Paliotas, a man of great learning. His successor was Samuel. It was he, who in conjunction with the other Patriarchs, negatived the wish of the English Nonjurors to be received into the Communion of the Oriental Church. The history of that event does not belong to our present subject. Samuel appears to have been in communication with the English Church: for in 1720 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge sent out a large supply of Syriac Testaments into Egypt, which are said to have been thankfully received by the Church. King George I. gave £500. for this object.

Samuel, Patr. XCI. Circ. A.D. 1710. A.M. 5426

[1] Le Quien, ii. 375.

[2] These four succeeding names are from Le Quien, ii. 512.

On the death of Samuel, a singular promotion occurred. Cosmas, who had been Œcumenical Patriarch, and had enjoyed great respect, retired to pass the remainder of his life in prayer and study at Mount Sinai, where he had previously been Archbishop. He was, however, prevailed on to fill the Chair of S. Mark: thus accomplishing a course precisely the opposite of that of Cyril Lucar: and more in accordance with the ancient order of the Church, when Alexandria was still the second See.

Cosmas II. Patr. XCII. A.D. 1724. A.M. 1440.

Cosmas III. Patr. XCIII. A.D. 1737. A.M. 1453.

He was succeeded by Cosmas, a native of Pisidia:[1] his successor was Matthew, by birth an Andrian. The Chair of S. Mark was then filled by Cyprian, from the Island of Cyprus. Gerasimus Caclicas, a native of Lerus, next followed: and then Parthenius of Patmos. Under him it was that the French invasion of Egypt took place. Parthenius of Patmos was succeeded by his nephew Theophilus, and the latter was followed by Hierotheus, to whom the reader is indebted for the names of his last six predecessors.

Matthew, Patr. XCIV. A.D. 1746. A.M. 1462.
Cyprian, Patr. XCV. A.D. 1766. A.M. 1482.
Gerasimus II. Patr. XCVI. A.D. 1783. A.M. 1499.
Parthenius II. Patr. XCVII. A.D. 1791. A.M. 1507.
Theophilus II. Patr. XCVIII. A.D. 1805. A.M. 1521.
Hierotheus, Patr. XCIX. A.D. 1825. A.M. 1541.
Artemius, Patr. C. A.D. 1846. A.M. 1562.

On the death of Hierotheus, which took place in 1846, his funeral was one of the most magnificent which had been seen in Egypt for many years, and was attended by the Coptic, as well as his own Ecclesiastics.

The Throne was then contested by two ecclesiastics, Artemius, and Hierotheus. The former was elected and consecrated at Constantinople: and is supported by the influence of Russia, of the Great Synod, and of the majority of the Egyptian Melchites. The latter was preferred by the more respectable though smaller portion of them. Artemius, therefore, has probably by this time succeeded peaceably to the Apostolic Throne of S. Mark.

[1] With Cosmas II., the account of Le Quien terminates. For the names of the succeeding Patriarchs, we are indebted to His Holiness Hierotheus, the late occupier of the Throne of S. Mark, in a letter to the British Consul written from Cairo, Aug. 5, 1844, of which the reader may probably like to see a copy verbatim and literatim, both as to spelling and accentuation.

Εκλαμπρότατε βρετανικε Πρόξενε!

Πληροφορεῦμεν τὴν σὴν ἐκλαμπρότατε κατὰ τὴν ζήτησιν σου οτι κατὰ του ἑτους 1724 Ἀλεξανδρείας Πατριάρχης ἐχρηματίζεν ὁ ποτὲ Ξυναιτου Κοσμᾶς πατριαρχεύσας δεκατρεῖς χρόνους εὡς τοῦ ἔτους 1737: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Κοσμας ὁ απὸ Πισηδίαν χρόνους ἔννεα εὡς τοῦ ἔτους 1746: καὶ μετ' αυτὸν Ματθαῖος ο απο Λιβύης Ἄνδριος πατριαρχέυσας χρόνους εὡς του 1766: εἶτα δὲ Κυπριανὸς ὁ Κύπριος χρόνους δεκα επτὰ εὡς του 1783: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Γεράσιμος κακλικᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου Λέρου πατριαρχεύει χρονους δκτὼ εὡς ἔτους 1791: και μετ' ἄυτὸν Παρθένιος

SECTION XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

Thus, by God's goodness, we have finished the relation of the Rise and Decline of the Church of Alexandria. We have traced it from the time when its Apostolic Founder laid down his life for his Lord: we have penetrated, so far as we might, the obscure annals of its earlier Patriarchs; we have seen it struggling with the persecutions of Valerian and Diocletian, and, by the blood of its martyrs, spreading the Faith into the wildest regions of Africa: we have seen it crushing the Sabellian heresy in the person of S. Dionysius, standing alone against an Arian world in that of S. Athanasius, overthrowing Nestorius, and wielding an Œcumenical Council in that of S. Cyril. We have seen it drawn into error by the vices and heresy of Dioscorus; thenceforward beset by a long and fearful schism, from which neither the martyrdom of S. Proterius, nor the alms of S. John, nor the learning of S. Eulogius, could deliver it; and, finally, overwhelmed by the victorious arms of the Impostor of Mecca. We have struggled through the dark annals of its mediæval history: we have found heresy triumphant, the Church almost dropping the name of Catholic, persecution rife, apostasy frequent; scarcely one valiant action for the faith recorded; scarcely one noble athlete for his God chronicled. We have seen the dismal gulf yawn between Eastern and Western Christendom; and have noted the attempts made by Rome, and by Protestant Germany to pass it. We have watched the progress of the Portuguese in Ethiopia,

Πάτμιος χρόνους δεκα τέσσαρες ἕως του ετους 1805: μετα δε τοῦτον Θεόφιλος ὁ τούτου ανεψιὸς Πάτμιος χρόνους εικοσι ενα ἕως του 1825: μετα δε τούτους ἡμεῖς.

Περὶ δε ὀνομάτων Μητροπόλεων ἐπισκοπῶν και ἀρχιεπισκοπων του θρόνου τούτου της Αλεξανδρέιας μὴ ζήτει παρ' ἡμῶν ὕτι εν τη αλώσει τῆς Αλεξανδρέιας οπου και το Πατριαρχεῖον τότε ην συναπώλοντο ὑπὸ τοὺ πυρὸς υπο τῆν τοτε Οθωμανων κατακτιτων, ἤτε σχολὴ Πατριαρχεῖον καὶ ἡ περίφιμος ἐκείνη βιβλιοθηκὴ και ὑπερβαίνουσα τας ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες τῶν βιβλίων και Αρχια και Κώδηκαις ὡς ὑπὸ πολλων ἱστορίκῶν μαρτυρεῖται. 1844 Αυγουστου 5.

Ο Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρέιας Ιερόθεος Ἐυχέτης τῆς ἐκλαμπροτατος σῆς.

from their first hopes of success, through the absolute victory, to the entire fall of Rome. We have remarked the gradual rise of error in the mind of Cyril Lucar, and his fruitless, though conscientious attempt to lead the Eastern Church into heresy. And now we behold the Church of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, a shadow of its former self, without a Bishop, except its Patriarch, "persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."

What remains but that we long and pray for those happier times when Alexandria and her sister Churches shall "shake themselves from the dust," shall "loose the bands of their neck," shall no more be "forsaken and hated," shall become "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations;" shall be freed from the Ottoman yoke, purged from ignorance, shall unite and be united with the Western Church, shall become

One Fold under One Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST our LORD,
To Whom, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST,
be all honour and glory,
world without end,
AMEN.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.

P. 11, l. 9. For 339 read 325.
13, 12. Add, He is called Æmylius in Cat. Cod. Colb. 3538, at the end of the Benedictine Life of S. Athanasius; and Avillius, in another MS. quoted in the same place.
29, 3 from bottom. Add, And the Coptic Church commemorates on the 6th of November, the Convention of Bishops for the Calculation of Epacts.
58. *Side note.* For A.D. 200, read About A.D. 210.
67, 19. For Germans, read Germanus.
95, 2 from bottom. For Eustratus, read Eustratius.
100, Note, 5 from bottom. The Septuagesimal Council, if in such troublous times it were held at all, must have been over.
149, 11. For S. Innocent, read S. Zosimus.
154, 5. For part, read port.
157, 2. After Never, add, or at least till a very late period.
199, Note, l. 6 from bottom. For 370, read 373.

VOL. II.

P. 8, l. 5 from bottom. For Phartolatræ, read Pthartolatræ.
26, Note 3. For Eutyches, read Eutychius.
78, *Side note.* For John IV. read John III.
84, *Side note.* For Alexander, read Simon.
164. *Side note.* For Eighth, read Ninth.
281, 3 from bottom. For Seljoukt, read Seljouk.
250, 19. For Second, read Third.
302. *Side note.* For Athanasius III., read Athanasius II.
339. *Side note.* For Portugal, read Ethiopia.
417. *Side note.* For Gregory, read Athanasius.
464, 20. For Hilaron, read Hilarion.
Note, l. For Hilarini, read Hilarion.

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